Foreign
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ANNIVERSARY
1941 - 1991

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-049
Wednesday
13 March 1991

Daily Report
East Europe

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Diplomatic Ties With U.S. To Be Reestablished

AU1203142691 Tirana ATA in English 1313 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 12 (ATA)—The spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reported today that the foreign minister, Muhamet Kapllani, will go to Washington, where the document on the reestablishment of the diplomatic relations between Albania and the United States of America will be signed on March 15.

Foreign Minister Kapllani Leaves for Italy

AU1203174091 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani left for Italy today at the invitation of Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis. He will talk with the Italian side on the course of Albanian-Italian relations so far and their further development.

Italy's Martelli Continues Official Visit

Holds Talks With Alia

AU1203142991 Tirana ATA in English 0908 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 12 (ATA)—Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, received at the seat of the Presidium of the People's Assembly on March 11 evening the vice chairman of the Italian Government, Claudio Martelli, and had a friendly talk with him.

Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke with him on the problem created of late between the two countries due to the exodus of the Albanian refugees in Italy. This exodus has not political motives, he said, the more so bearing in mind that it is not in the Albanian's nature the desire to leave the homeland. The economic factor had a great influence in creating such a problem, but we should consider it in a broader context. It is clear that there are forces interested not only in destabilizing Albania, but also to provoke here a bloodshed at any cost. Destabilization of Albania means further destabilization of the Balkans, which is actually passing difficult situations. Let us solve correctly the problems created, he said, but also in the interest of the Albanian-Italian friendship. Comrade Ramiz Alia thanked for the humanitarian and correct actions of the Italian authorities towards the Albanian refugees. Alongside the hospitality of the Italian people, he underlined, they are undoubtedly a clear expression of friendship.

The Vice Prime Minister Claudio Martelli said that the Italian party is trying to solve the problem according to the international laws. We recognize and understand your difficulties in these transitory moments of the Albanian society, he said, adding that the interest of the Italian state is to help Albania as much as possible. The humanitarian aid dispatched soon will be followed by others, even in the context of the European Community. Our government is of the opinion that Italy can help Albania so that the latter integrate into the European Community with full rights. He upheld the opinion of the Albanian president that instability in the Balkans and in southeastern Europe is in the interest of nobody. We are resolute to make our contribution to the stability of the situation in Albania, in the meantime we are following with sympathy the processes of democratization in this country.

We, the Albanians, said Comrade Ramiz Alia, have a saying: "A friend in need is a friend indeed." Precisely this moment affords the possibility to display each other's desire for strengthening the traditional friendship between our two peoples.

The Italian people, said Mr. Claudio Martelli, cherish profound friendly sentiments for the Albanian people. Proceeding from them our government is determined to turn the all-sided Italy-Albania cooperation into a model of fruitful and friendly cooperation between two neighbouring countries.

Comrade Ramiz Alia asked the vice-prime minister of the Italian Government, Claudio Martelli, to convey his greetings to President Cossiga, Prime Minister Andreotti, and the chairman of the Socialist Party, Craxi.

The reception was also attended by Muhamet Kapllani, minister for foreign affairs.

Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Italian Republic to Tirana, Torquato Cardilli.

Received by Nano

AU1203155191 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 12 (ATA)—The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSRA [People's Socialist Republic of Albania], Fatos Nano, received on March 11 the vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Italian Republic, Claudio Martelli, and other members of the delegation. Attending the reception were also the vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Shkelqim Cani; the general secretary of the Council of Ministers, Aleks Luarasi; the vice minister of foreign affairs, Sokrat Plaka; the vice minister of foreign trade and cooperation, Kostandin Hoxha, and others.

Comrade Fatos Nano spoke of the priorities the Albanian party thinks to give to the Italian economic investments on tourism, construction and other branches of industry. Through Italy, he said, we want to create close ties also with the European community. The Albanian premier briefed the Italian high-ranking official on the political situation and the democratic developments in our country. Fatos Nano voiced the gratitude for the engagement of the Italian Government in the solution of the humanitarian problems which emerged as a result of the Albanian refugees' presence in Italy. He underlined that the Albanian Government has adopted all measures that this event be not repeated any more.

Claudio Martelli voiced the pleasure for the special information on the part of the Albanian premier regarding the commitment to see quietly to free democratic elections. He was acquainted with and evaluated the measures adopted for the development of democratic processes in Albania which he considered necessary for a successful economic development. He evaluated the creation of a civic commission which will create possibilities for a correct distribution of the Italian humanitarian aids.

Fatos Nano proposed to conduct negotiations for the immediate commitment of Italian companies into a concrete economic cooperation with Albania. He said that a project of middle-term cooperation would be indispensable for the progress in this direction.

Claudio Martelli declared that the Italian Government will accord an immediate aid to Albania, taking into consideration the need of this neighbouring European country for the quick recovery of its economy. In order to materialize this aid, he proposed that the meeting of the Joint Commission of the Albanian-Italian Economic Cooperation be held soon.

Rumors of Opening of Embassies Denied, Criticized

AU1203174491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] The spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs states that false reports are again in circulation about the opening of foreign embassies accredited to Tirana. The date laid down by the authors of these stubbornly repeated reports is 15 March. Their aim is to create serious situations for public order and to provoke undesired incidents. The spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has been given full responsibility to state that there will be no opening of foreign embassies either on the aforementioned date or in the future. On the contrary, the forces for the maintenance of order have been instructed and prepared to intervene vigorously against any attempt to enter by force the territory of diplomatic representations of any state, thus enforcing the legal obligations of our state to secure the protection and normal work of embassy personnel. An appeal is therefore issued to all citizens not to fall into the traps of provocations and the provocateurs who organize them, but on the contrary to help the forces of order to expose these people. This is the only way to preserve public order and calm and to avoid incidents and casualties that only the enemies of our country and democracy desire.

PRSh Warns of 'Provocations'

AU1203175291 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Statement by the Initiating Commission of the Republican Party; place and date not given]

[Text] Reports have spread in Tirana and some districts claiming that foreign embassies will accept refugees on 15 March. The Republican Party [PRSh], concerned at such new developments, spoke to Mr. Teoman Surenkok, the doyen of the diplomatic corps in Tirana, who categorically denied these reports. The embassies will not open, not now or in the future, to accept refugees in an illegal way. The embassies will continue to issue visas according to the laws in force.

The PRSh appeals to children not to fall prey to fictions and groundless reports, spread by hostile sources trying to encourage a breakdown of order and a general conflict. Everything done to encourage turmoil aims to undermine the free elections and to bring down the country. It is decisive for our life and our entire nation to understand these monstrous tricks that can only be in the interest of some foreign power with ambitions against Albania. Let every young person return at once to his work and family. We have had enough of the sounds of gunshots and violence. The people want calm, free elections, and democracy. The PRSh trusts that provocations, from whatever side they may come, will not succeed. The people's great wisdom will triumph.

Initiating Commission of the Republican Party.

'Last Political Prisoners' Pardoned by Alia

AU1203171691 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] A regular meeting of the Presidium of the People's Assembly was held on 12 March 1991 under the direction of Comrade Ramiz Alia. Besides considering and approving other measures, the meeting considered and approved the pardon of the last political prisoners, according to the proposals of the Ministries of Internal Affairs and Justice. Following this pardon, there are no more political prisoners in reeducation centers and prisons in Albania.

Enver Hoxha Activists Hold Meeting in Gjirokaster

AU1203181691 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] The Union of Enver Hoxha Activists recently organized an assembly in the city of Gjirokaster in defense of the achievement and name of Enver Hoxha. The assembly included representatives of this association from different districts of the country. The assembly was opened in the city's Sports Palace by Valia Peshkopia, chairman of the Gjirokaster District Union of Activists, who said that the ranks of activists were increasing every day. (?Hysni Milloshi), chairman of the association, said among other things that so far about 1 million voluntary activists, workers, peasants, intellectuals, veterans, and young people have been registered in the fold of this association. Other speakers, such as representatives from Fier, Pogradec, Diber, Kukes, Tropoje, Sarande, Tepelene, Berat, Skrapar, and Tirana, and from the Enver Hoxha United Officers School, stressed their promise to keep Albania free, independent, and democratic. They stated that like everybody else they are working and striving to go to the 31 March elections in dignity, prudence, and national unity.

A people's rally was then organized in the square of the 18 September District, at which speakers expressed their appreciation for the figure of Enver Hoxha as the founder of the new Albanian state. A plaque giving this square the name of Enver Hoxha Square was then unveiled, and respects were paid at Enver Hoxha's monument.

Nano Speaks on Economic Reform at PPSh Aktiv

AU1203204091 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] The Tirana District Committee of the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] organized an aktiv in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses this afternoon to discuss the PPSh's program on economic and social problems. Cadres and specialists in various fields of production and life, vanguard workers, and others took part. Robert Koli, the PPSh District Committee's first secretary, opened the meeting.

Prime Minister Fatos Nano, in his capacity as one of the drafters of the PPSh's economic program, spoke about the measures to be taken to start the economic reform. This reform represents a model corresponding to our country's material and psychological conditions. He emphasized the government's commitment to appreciating the contribution of other political forces in taking measures for faster development, improving the people's living standards, solving social problems, etc.

Comrade Fatos Nano mentioned among other things the basic aim of the economic reforms to be undertaken by the government. These include intensifying and accelerating the process of democratization in the economy, overcoming the economy's currently grave situation, defining priorities in improving the economy's structure, and changing the centralized economic system to a market economy. In connection with the latter, he pointed out that the program of economic reforms does not mean the abolition of the role of the state in the economy. It will no longer carry out its role administratively, but fiscally, etc. The state, he said, will become a supervisor of the economy. Our conception of the market economy, the prime minister continued, is to create a mixed economy involving elements of state management and the powerful operation of market forces. All economic units will be equal before the law. Even state enterprises, which will operate in total independence and freedom, with all the characteristics imposed by the laws of the market, will be contractors on the market and not buyers and sellers by instruction. The cooperativist sector will operate and be regulated by special statutes drawn up under the conditions of a market economy. Genuine private property will also enjoy greater freedom and independence on the market in the field of prices, investments, wages, imports, and exports.

Comrade Fatos Nano later concentrated on an analysis of the main elements of the economic reform. The restructuring of the economy through a change in the system of ownership, he stressed, is one of these elements. This will involve decentralization in production, permitting and protecting private initiative. In this context, the necessary legal basis has been created today with the approval of laws on privatization by the Presidium of the People's Assembly. To keep track of the process of privatization, the Council of Ministers will create a committee for the reorganization of the economy, under its own control.

Another important element of the reform is a refinement of the economic mechanisms in state enterprises, giving more initiative to working collectives and individuals in both planning and performance. In the agricultural sector, it is planned that the cooperatives will emerge on the market as entirely independent bodies. After extensive consultation, the view has been reached that all families in agricultural enterprises should be given 0.2-0.3 hectares of arable land, and that the livestock currently in centralized herds and flocks should be distributed at cost price.

The program of economic reform, Comrade Fatos later pointed out, also provides for the liberalization of prices, which will be accompanied by a review of wages, with the aim of not affecting the people's existing living standards. The state will temporarily retain the right to determine prices or to impose maximum and minimum limits for the prices of primary and essential goods. The reconception and restructuring of the monetary system, bank credits, and the role of state finances, will also create the necessary conditions for a monetary market to be created in the future. Moreover, the banks' creation of a system of savings accounts and property insurance will make possible long-term credits for the purchase of consumer goods.

The objective of the new forms of economic relations with foreign countries and the currency system is to integrate the country's economy with the world and European market through the establishment of a single and real exchange rate, a new system of licenses, measures for the convertibility of the lek, and the establishment of a customs and tariff system compatible with that of GATT, etc. The new social security system includes measures to create jobs for the unemployed, including job creation through state investments, private initiative, joint enterprises, and emigration, alongside social assistance and measures to protect from rising living costs those strata of the population with lower incomes, such as pensioners, etc.

In conclusion, those present asked questions about special problems in the government's plans for economic reform.

'Democratic' Debate on Agrarian Policies Viewed

AU1203211391 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 4 Mar 91 p 2

[Avdul Dule article: "Democracy Within Oneself"]

[Excerpt] Words become distorted by frequent use. The word "democracy," however, is not subject to this law. The more we use and write it, the closer to us and more prominent it becomes. It is not simply a word, but an aspiration, a point of reference, an... everything. It is like a dream seen in fever, but is now a reality. It is like the labor pains to which a woman submits for the sake of a new life.

Yesterday the various news conferences of the different parties ended. They began with the Agrarian Party and ended with the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh], thus according to the timetable, or maybe by chance, they started with the land and ended with labor. Formally, no scenario could have been better. There was democracy among them, and within each of them, present at our fireside. The parties' conferences ended, but "the conferences continue" among the people. The people weigh in the scales what they have heard, and what they have understood of what was said. They get to know the people from the parties and their authority better. There are five parties today, and five are inevitably more than one or two. It is better to be able to choose among several than to be glued to one. Quantity does not necessarily mean quality, and it is inevitable that life will reduce their number. The market economy that we have all accepted makes this easier to understand: "The market of ideas," if we may put it that way, has led to the formation of different parties. Can we sum up their news conferences?

The Agrarian Party: Closer to the land and villagers.
The Ecology Party: The human dimension, harmony.
The Democratic Party: As swift as an avalanche.
The Republican Party: Moderate, controlled.
The PPSh: With the responsibility to move with the times.
Altogether: Closer to people and to reality, and to some extent to each other.

The day after the first news conference, we met the Agrarian Party's representatives on the street.

"Shall we have a coffee?"

"Why not?"

In this "democratic" cafe, we continued the dialogue about what was said the previous evening. A debate arose among the unauthorized "representatives" of the PPSh and the initiators of the Agrarian Party. This is no longer a sacrilege. It does not spoil your curriculum vitae. It does not compromise you. All these and other dark corners are being illuminated by the notion of democracy, which means civilization and culture. Of course, I would say that one of the Achilles' heels of this "conference," the question of selling land, received a single answer—no and again no. There was a strong "no" from the Republicans too, and "amazingly," a fresh nuance on this prime issue from the Democratic Party's news conference on the radio. If this is a matter of a correction, there is no better news. Apart from anything else, land is not a commodity. The land is soul and life, and it is also the nation and independence. It is a mother that inexhaustibly and eternally produces food. What she produces can be bought and sold, because these are commodities. It must be admitted that this retrograde idea of selling land, whether to foreigners or Albanians, is very close to slavery and serfdom. It is also something alien and superseded. Let us simply call it a lapse. Democracy allows us to argue that we should not imagine the peasant of the year 2000 and beyond romantically tied to the land, rooted in it. We should imagine an agrarian townsman, mechanized agriculture, and production areas empty of people, not the hoes and plows of today. The programs of the parties are only outlines, but when they dabble in property rights, this is their starting point. Let them remember the saying among the people: "Measure seven times and cut once." [passage omitted]

Student Leaders Advised 'To Be More Careful'

AU1203151991 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 Mar 91 pp 1, 4

[ATA report: "At Tirana District Court"]

[Text] ATA's reporter met Dr. Shefqet Muci, president of Tirana District Court, yesterday who provided the following information:

The students Blendi Gonxhe, Ridvan Peshkepia, Kastriot Gjoka, Arben Lika, Shenasi Rema, and Arjan Manahasa were referred to the Court by the police for violating the decree "On Citizens' Meetings, Gatherings, and Assemblies in Public Places" by organizing on 14 and 14 February 1991 illegal rallies in contravention of Article 2 of this decree—i.e. without giving advance notice to the district police chief.

Yesterday, on 4 March 1991, they were summoned to the court by Judge Natasha Xhacka. Blendi Gonxhe did not attend because he had not been informed. In their explanations, they admitted the charges, but gave the excuse that they thought they were "in their own home" [Democracy Square is inside the student campus], and were not disturbing anyone.

The president of the District Court himself then met them, and advised them to be more careful in the future and to act on the basis of the laws, not to violate the aforementioned decree again, not to speak in the name of forums or social organizations that are not recognized by law, such as the "Initiating Commission of the Student Movement" [Komisioni Nismetar i Levizjes Studentore], and not to disinform the public with inaccurate statements on foreign radio stations, as R. Peshkepia has done. He also warned that any repetition of such activities on their part or by others would lead to the law being enforced.

The aforementioned students, fully understanding the need to solve problems by democratic means and to preserve social harmony and calm in the current period through which the country is passing, expressed thanks for the advice. They emphasized that the aforementioned Commission was temporary and now no longer exists.

'Association of National Cooperation' Founded

AU1203155491 Tirana ATA in English 1103 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 12 (ATA)—The Committee of Arts and Culture approved the Association of National Cooperation centered in Tirana on March 11. This is a social, independent, nonpolitical organization. It will conduct cultural and social activity within and outside the state territory of Albania in all the countries of the world where members of the Albanian nation are temporarily or permanently living and working.

This association has the task to keep alive and strengthen the national unit and the spirit of cooperation among all the Albanians, working to preserve and develop the material and cultural values of the Albanian people, to uncover, affirm and defend the historic values, to preserve and cultivate the Albanian language in all the Albanian settlements and dwelling places.

It will cooperate not only with state and social organisms of Albania, but also with social and cultural institutions and organizations of the Albanians in Italy, Greece, Germany, and others and especially with those in Kosovo and other Albanian territories in Yugoslavia, as well as with other cultural institutions and organizations of the world so that the Albanian people enter the European family with their national identity.

Helsinki Federation Holds News Conference

AU1203154791 Tirana ATA in English 1049 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 12 (ATA)—On March 11, before noon, the delegation of the International Helsinki Federation, which is visiting our country during the recent days, organised a press conference with journalists of the central press organs, Radio-TV and foreign journalists. The press conference was directed by the head of this delegation, Bjorn Elmquist, who together with the other members of this delegation responded to the questions of the journalists concerning the role of this forum in defence of human rights and freedoms, the meetings this delegation has had during its stay in Albania with the President Ramiz Alia, with the chairman of the Central Election Commission, Prof. Rexhep Mejdani, with representatives of the Forum for the Defence of Human Rights in Albania etc. Likewise, they responded to the questions by our and foreign journalists regarding the election campaign in Albania, the problems that should be borne in mind with regard to it, the way the political parties of the opposition are treated in Albania, the necessity of releasing all the political prisoners, the role Radio-TV and the ATA should play in the multiparty society.

They also spoke in detail of their visits and impressions in some prisons and hospitals here. They reiterated the indispensability that the free March 31 elections should be held in the presence of foreign observers.

Envoy Reviews Yugoslav Bilateral Relations

AU1103180791 Sofia SVOBODEN NAROD in Bulgarian 5 Mar 91 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Marko Markov, ambassador to Yugoslavia, by Ofeliya Khadzhikoleva; place and date not given: "The Inhabitants of the Balkans Can Also Be Europeans"]

[Excerpts] [Khadzhikoleva] Mr. Ambassador, let us look at recent events in a broader context. What in your opinion is the dominating issue that attracts social attention in Yugoslavia? What are the alternative solutions for resolving this issue?

[Markov] The fate of Yugoslavia, or more precisely its future political structure is at the center of public attention. There are several alternative solutions of this issue: preserving the SFRY as a federation, turning into a confederation, a state union, or a union of sovereign states, and, the possibility of the SFRY's disintegration into six separate republics. Talks related to this dominant issue have already started. In the final analysis, this is an issue that must be resolved by those who participate in the talks. [passage omitted]

[Khadzhikoleva] What are the possibilities of developing our bilateral relations under the new reality in Bulgaria?

[Markov] The new realities in both Bulgaria and Yugoslavia will undoubtedly lead our bilateral relations to a level appropriate for the two neighboring countries, which are striving to rid themselves of all "Balkan" elements and assume their place in civilized Europe.

[Khadzhikoleva] Let us narrow a bit the common ignorance about the problems that move the two countries. For instance, what should Bulgarians know about Macedonia today?

[Markov] The Bulgarians do not know many things about Macedonia today. Our blood brothers in Macedonia also do not know much about modern Bulgaria. One factor will lead to mutual acquaintance and understanding—the effort to refrain from contradicting historical realities by political considerations. [passage omitted]

SDS Issues Declaration on Belgrade Events

AU1103182291 Sofia BTA in English 1700 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—The opposition legislative Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS] is the first Bulgarian political force to take a stand on the tragic events in Belgrade of March 9.

Today a special declaration of the UDF Coordinating Council condemned the use of force against peaceful demonstrators, the arrests of opposition members, and the actions taken against free-thinking journalists. The UDF qualifies these steps as a flagrant violation of basic human rights which is not only a question of internal affairs.

The UDF believes that the events of March 9 have created an unpredictable situation in a sensitive region like the Balkans, and have delivered a blow on the processes in new Europe.

"Democracy has no alternative in the modern world and all attempts at stifling it are doomed to failure," the UDF states in the declaration read before journalists today.

Vulkov Describes Visit to Iran; Talks

AU1003181791 Sofia BTA in English 1744 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] Tehran, March 10 (BTA)—Mr. Viktor Vulkov, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, who is on an official visit to Tehran at the invitation of his Iranian counterpart Dr. 'Ali Akbar Velayati, was received by the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran Mr. 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani.

The Foreign Minister Mr. Vulkov invited the Iranian president on behalf of President Zhelyu Zhelev to make an official visit to Bulgaria at a time convenient for him. The invitation was accepted.

Mr. Vulkov said that Bulgaria has taken a positive view of Iran's stand and role in connection with the situation in the Persian Gulf. He also told Mr. Rafsanjani that Bulgaria is undergoing deep reforms leading to a change of the economic system. He also said that this country is interested in the opening of new prospects for a more diverse mutually advantageous cooperation.

The president of the Islamic Republic of Iran showed interest in the transition to a market economy ongoing in Bulgaria and assured Mr. Vulkov of the readiness of Iran to promote bilateral relations in various spheres.

The two foreign ministers discussed the condition and the prospects of development of the traditionally friendly bilateral relations. They highly appreciated cooperation up to now but agreed that many opportunities to broaden and strengthen it in all fields have not been tapped. The two foreign ministers exchanged views on major issues in international relations, in the first place on the Gulf crisis. Bulgaria and Iran which are situated in neighboring regions: The Balkans and the Middle East, are both interested in the consolidation of peace and stability in them.

Mr. Vulkov invited Dr. Velayati to make an official visit to the Republic of Bulgaria. The invitation was gladly accepted.

Seeks To Expand Economic Ties

AU1203084991 Sofia BTA in English 2100 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—Mr. Viktor Vulkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs, met here [as received, Vulkov is visiting Tehran, whereas dateline is Sofia] today Mr. Mohammad Khadi Nezhad-Hoseynian, minister of heavy industry of Iran and chairman of the Iranian side of the Joint Bulgaro-Iranian commission for Economic and Sci-Technical Cooperation.

The two sides reviewed the bilateral economic relations and gave a positive assessment to their development.

Mr. Viktor Vulkov stressed the importance of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries and expressed the hope that the end of the war in the Gulf and the changes taking place in Bulgaria would contribute to establishing favorable conditions for broadening economic contacts.

At the meeting it was decided to hold the next regular session of the Joint Bulgaro-Iranian Commission for Economic and Sci-Technical Cooperation this autumn in Tehran.

EC's Andriessen Says 'Ties Will Be Activated'

AU1103220991 Sofia BTA in English 2016 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—Bulgaria's government deserves the support of the European countries and of G-24 as a whole, Mr. Frans Andriessen, vice president of the Commission of the European Community, said. At a news conference held after Mr. Andriessen's busy program in Sofia was completed, he underlined that now, 14 months after his previous visit to Bulgaria, he saw a new country firmly resolved to go on with the sweeping changes both in the political and in the economic sphere.

Mr. Andriessen, who arrived here last night, had talks with President Zhelyu Zhelev, with Prime Minister Dimitur Popov, with Mr. Ivan Kostov, minister of finance, with Mr. Atanas Paparizov, minister of foreign economic relations, with Mr. Ivan Pushkarov, minister of industry, trade and services, and with Mr. Ivan Garvalov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Mr. Frans Andriessen, who included Bulgaria in his East European tour to see for himself if the reform in this country has made some progress, congratulated the president and the Bulgarian Government for their resolution and courage. He declared that they could rely on the European community.

Mr. Frans Andriessen stated that he would make known his positive conclusion to Brussels. In the coming months we will try to implement some of the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] programs, he said. This week the commission of the European community will discuss the stand-by credit Bulgaria expects to receive from the International Monetary Fund. The credit will amount to $400 million, Mr. Andriessen specified.

Today Mr. Frans Andriessen and the Minister of Foreign Economic Relations, Mr. Atanas Paparizov, signed a financial memorandum according to which five million ECU [European Currency Unit] will be granted as aide for mother and child health care in Bulgaria within the framework of the PHARE Program.

The possibilities for promoting the relations between EC and Bulgaria were also discussed. I am convinced that if the tendencies I saw here are advanced further, the ties will be activated, Mr. Andriessen said. He motivated his optimism over Bulgaria's development with the comprehensive legislation the Bulgarian legislature is working on. Obviously the atmosphere in the country is entirely different and the political situation situation in particular favors the advancement of cooperation and makes the taking of decisions easier. There is a government which is resolved to make the necessary steps for the reform, Mr. Andriessen said.

Chinese Foreign Minister on Economic Ties

AU1103103291 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 5 Mar 91 p 1

[Maria Netsova report on interview with PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in Sofia on 4 March 1991: "China Respects Bulgaria's Choice"]

[Text] Qian Qichen, who is an outstanding specialist on Eastern European and Soviet affairs, did not hesitate to express his amazement at the changes that have occurred in Bulgaria. After concluding his three-day visit to our country he shared his impressions with us in a special interview for OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK. His last visit to our country dates back four years, when he tried to "break the ice" in our bilateral relations and overcome the controversial problems that had accumulated over several decades and were mainly based on ideological differencies. "The changes are extraordinary, they are your people's achievement, and China respects your choice." Qian Qichen confirmed. Our common priorties are mutual respect, understanding, and noninterference in each other's domestic affairs, he added.

This statement also expresses the essential change in the orientation, substance, and objectives of Bulgarian-Chinese relations. The change was reflected and pointed out in the Chinese foreign minister's talks with Bulgaria's top leaders—namely President Zhelyu Zhelev, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov, and Foreign Minister Viktor Vulkov. Let us recall that only 15 months ago the motivations of our mutual relations with China were based on common socialist values and on the alleged interest of Beijing in the theoretical elaborations of Bulgaria's first leader and in the "international success of Bulgarian experience." This is at least what the

Bulgarian side claimed in the past. Today, Bulgarian-Chinese relations are evolving on a totally different basis and are determined by entirely new criteria that are characteristic for normal relations between two countries, such as mutual advantage, mutual interest, cooperation, and businesslike spirit, unaffected by all sorts of ideological connotations. At the same time the friendly feelings and useful assets of our former relations should be further promoted in the future.

"China is a galaxy," President Zhelyu Zhelev said on the occasion of last night's meeting with the Chinese guest, at which the two sides expressed their common desire to seek new forms and methods of expanding trade and economic relations between their states. The president showed particular interest in China's experience in setting up special economic zones—one of the successful experiments of the Chinese economic reform— that sets an example of open-minded economic policy based on tax and custom duty concessions.

China is a huge country with a population over 1 billion, and some of its provinces are twice as large as the territory of our Bulgaria. Nevertheless, our trade exchange, which hardly amounts to 200 million Swiss francs, is far too modest compared with the possibilities of both countries. "The most effective method of intensifying our business relations is to establish direct contacts between enterprises, companies, and foreign trade organizations, to establish contacts on a regional basis, and to engage in joint ventures," Qian Qichen stated at the end of his interview.

Sladkarov: Balkan Relations a Priority

AU1103231491 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
7 Mar 91 p 2

[Ivanka Khlebarova report: "Balkan Policy Preserves Its Priority for Bulgaria"]

[Text] Relations with the Balkan countries are a priority area of our foreign policy. Mincho Sladkarov, department head at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at the regular briefing at the ministry that Bulgaria has recently implemented very dynamic contacts with all states in the region.

He thinks that the mass media incorrectly assesses our relations with various countries and makes improper comparisons. In this context, Mr. Sladkarov extensively reviewed Bulgarian-Turkish relations in recent months and stressed that dynamic contacts at all level and in all areas are evident.

Answering journalists' questions, he pointed out that the great concentration of weapons near our border is alarming. His colleague, Atanas Nastev, leader of the Bulgarian delegation to the Vienna talks, said that a great imbalance of power has emerged between Bulgaria on the one hand, and Greece and Turkey on the other, after signing the treaty on decreasing conventional weapons in Europe. The treaty does not ban modernization of the weapons and cannot be stopped, he said.

Turning to the Vienna talks, Atanas Nastev said that the Soviet interpretation of Article 3 of the treaty on decreasing conventional weapons in Europe is the main reason for the stagnation in the talks. Noting the increased importance of naval forces, the USSR transferred three infantry divisions—two to the north and one to the south—and attached them to the Navy. In essence, this took place before signing the Paris treaty, and the CSCE participating countries have been informed about the transfer by the USSR. The United States thinks that if this Soviet interpretation is accepted, it will open the door to future violations of the treaty. The Soviet side will have to relinquish this interpretation of the treaty, Atanas Nastev said.

Prime Minister Popov States CEMA Position

AU1103220591 Sofia BTA in English 1955 GMT
11 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—If a proposal is made at the Moscow meeting of the permanent representatives of the CMEA-member states (March 14 and 15, 1991) to set up an East European organization for economic cooperation, Bulgaria will support it. At the same time the possibility will be discussed for Bulgaria to continue her relations with Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia on a bilateral basis. This stand of the Bulgarian delegation was adopted at today's meeting of the government.

The disintegration of the CMEA and its consequences have an impact on Bulgaria's economy, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov stressed. The Common Market will remain a dream but ideas for other regional formations are also being considered, he said. Though outside the common market, we will have to seek ways to promoting the development of our industry and the competitiveness of our goods. According to Mr. Popov, the talks in Moscow will be of an informative nature. We will hear what the other countries have to offer, the prime minister said.

Poll on Political Figures, Parties' Popularity

AU1003165091 Sofia BTA in English 1635 GMT
10 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 10 (BTA)—The Minister of Finance Mr. Ivan Kostov is the most popular minister according to a representative poll conducted by the National Public Opinion Center in February. The prime minister also has a high rating. Other cabinet members also rank among the top ten political figures. In early February prices were liberalized and the poll showed that most respondents prefer high prices and a profusion of goods to low prices and shortages.

Optimists outnumber pessimists, as most Bulgarians believe that the economic crisis will be overcome. Almost two-thirds of the respondents say that they will depend on a rise in their income, and not on saving up. Unemployment is the most feared prospect.

The poll has registered a growing confidence in institutions. The president is still at the top of the rating list. Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev is not likely to face serious competition in direct presidential elections. The government is also popular. For the first time the respondents approving the legislature outnumbered those disapproving it.

Most respondents opt for May as the month for legislative elections. Thirty-two percent will vote for the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), as against 25 percent for the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). The two major political forces' rating has dropped a little in comparison with the previous poll. The latest poll shows that the legislative parties and coalitions: SDS, BSP, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) almost "cover' political space.

A considerable part of Bulgarians pin their hopes for national security and for finding a way out of the crisis on Western Europe, followed by the United States and the USSR.

BSP, Opposition Differ on Party Property

AU1103201391 Sofia BTA in English 1803 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—The Standing Legislative Committee on the Incomes, Expenditures and Control of the Parties' Property, which was set up last August, is not ready yet with its final report, journalists were told at a special press conference today.

The Socialist M.P.'s hold a majority in the committee. It has not discussed so far the possibility of the confiscation of the property of the Socialist (former Communist) Party as was the case in the former GDR and in Czechoslovakia.

However, the Committee's chairman Lawyer Ilko Eskenazi, a UDF [SDS] M.P., and the Socialist Mr. Vasil Kolarov, his deputy, differ substantially in their views. Mr. Eskenazi finds it immoral that the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) has distanced itself from the past while clinging to its property and remaining the richest Bulgarian political party. The BSP has been dealing in its property which actually belongs to the Bulgarian people. In 1990 the BSP took out titles to buildings on state-owned sites. The property of the BSP is being evaluated at "balanced prices" which are considerably lower than the current market prices. Answering a journalist, Mr. Kolarov who was governor of the National Bank for six years, and has been in charge of the financial matters of the BSP Supreme Council since last March, said that his party never concealed its building projects. It had no legal permit but it did not need one since the party was fused with the state. "It all took place before everybody's eyes," he said. The journalists were not satisfied with Mr. Kolarov's attempt to contradict the statement that the Communist Party used to be fused with the state, while its successor the BSP is the state's closest partner.

The problem of the parties' property will be settled by an agreement between the political forces. The special legislative committee, however, should first work out its report and take a stand on the problem.

Lilov Addresses Socialists in Sofia District

AU1003212891 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 Mar 91 p 2

[Darina Radeva report]

[Text] One of the many questions that members and supporters of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] presented to Aleksandur Lilov at a meeting held on 5 March in Sofia's Krasno Selo Municipality was how the party assesses the trial of Todor Zhivkov. Aleksandur Lilov answered that the BSP does not engage in assessing the work of an independent body. The party is only interested in one thing: that the truth be established.

The chairman of the BSP Supreme Council noted the alarming signs of increasing political and social tension and the danger posed by the recently launched thesis that the peaceful transition is hindering the development of positive processes in Bulgaria. The alternative to peaceful transition is chaos, Aleksandur Lilov stated. It is not in the BSP, but in other places in Sofia that one should look for the forces that want to torpedo the political agreement.

As to the BSP's stance regarding the government, it was stressed that the party supports the reforms being carried out by the government, and at the same time will follow a vigorous social policy for fair distribution of the burdens arising from the reforms.

SDS Leader Dimitrov Views New Elections

AU1103192391 Sofia BTA in English 1748 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—The opposition legislative coalition the Union of Democratic Forces, [SDS] will closely follow the work of the Bulgarian legislature in the next seven or ten days in order to determine its final opinion on its work and on the date of the new legislative elections which, according to the political forces' agreement, should be held in May, UDF leader Filip Dimitrov told journalists today. This was the reply he gave to the BTA reporter who asked him if the opposition would insist on holding the elections in May, because some UDF parties and individual opposition leaders have spoken of late in favor of postponing the elections to the Autumn of 1991. The Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) is also for postponing the elections.

At its regular session today the Coordinating Council of the UDF discussed the candidatures for the new elections and some election system variants.

Mr. Dimitrov underlined that the UDF is not adhering blindly to the political forces' agreement. The point of extending the mandate of the legislature is in its efficient legislative work, but the necessity for doing this should be proved by the Socialist Party which holds the majority in the legislature. According to Mr. Dimitrov the latest manoeuvres of the BSP—its drive for the cessation of the legislative mandate of UDF co-chairman Stoyan Ganev and the compromise version of the resolution on the introduction of Turkish language classes it imposed on the legislature—are indicative of unsound tendencies in the BSP. In his opinion the Socialists in the legislature only want to appear constructive.

Asked how the UDF would react if through their majority the Socialists bring about the cessation of the legislative mandate of Stoyan Ganev, the opposition leader said that this would prove the hopes set on this legislature to be in vain.

SDS Deputies Boycott Radio, TV Draft Law

AU1103152491 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
6 Mar 91 p 1

[Mitko Bozhkov report: "Union of Democratic Forces, SDS, Boycotts Debate on Radio, Television Draft Law"]

[Text] The deputies of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] refused to attend yesterday's session of the legislative Commission for Radio and Television at which the debate on the draft law on radio and televsion was expected to continue. The Rights and Freedoms Movement announced that its members are now discussing the situation that has emerged within the commission and should be expected to declare the [word indistinct] presumably on Thursday, 7 March. Perhaps the attitude of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union will also be clarified at that time.

The deputies attending the session agreed on the idea of submitting a protest note to the Grand National Assembly Bureau declaring that the opposition deputies are obstructing the implementation of the commission's main task—namely to draft and submit the draft law on radio and television to the plenary session. The deadline for this act expired already on 10 February 1991.

The boycott in question can only be defined as a gross violation of the agreement signed by the political forces represented in the legislature , an agreement that was expected to guarantee the peaceful transition to a democratic society, Mr. Krustyu Goranov, cochairman of the Legislative Commission on Radio and Television, stated to a DUMA reporter.

Current BSP Membership Outlined

AU1103114091 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
6 Mar 91 p 1

[Vasil Popov report: "Size of Bulgarian Socialist Party, BSP, Members Number Near Half a Million"]

[Text] Some 477,000 new Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] membership cards had been distributed by 1 March, while, for purely technical reasons, several BSP members have not yet received their membership cards. If we add their number to the aforementioned membership figure the number of BSP members should amount to half a million.

Reregistration is not a simple technical process, but involves a new identification of the BSP with the values of democratic socialism and the ideas of the European left wing political forces, Aleksandur Tomov, deputy chairman and coordinating secretary of the BSP Supreme Council stated. He briefed journalists on certain statistical data that reflect the composition of the BSP membership.

According to the their social status, 21 percent of the BSP members are workers (the percentages are calculated on the basis of 415,000 people, further figures are still being processed by the computer, but are not likely to involve any essential changes); 9 percent of the BSP members are agricultural workers; 13 percent belong to the intelligentsia; 20 percent are civil servants; 1 percent—students. The rest are unemployed, pensioners, and others.

As for the educational level of BSP members—22.49 percent are university graduates; 8.26 percent are graduates of various other higher institutions; 39.67 percent are secondary school graduates; while one fourth of the members are elementary school graduates, or even less educated.

A total of 444 BSP members are doctors of sciences, while 2,238 BSP members are candidates for academic titles.

As for the various branches of professional activity, the following data are available: In the period 1 April 1990 through 1 March 1991 the situation regarding reregistration is as follows: in the industrial sector one-fourth of the Socialists have reregistered. In the agricultural sphere over half of the members have reregistered; in the transportation sector one-fourth; in the communications branch one-half; and in the educational field one-third. As far as the arts and culture sectors are concerned 5,984 out of 8,237 BSP members who are engaged in those spheres have reconfirmed their BSP membership.

As far as socialists who define themselves as supporters of various ideological currents within the BSP are concerned, their total number amounts to 3,537, which means 1 percent of party members.

The age groups of BSP members can be determined as follows: 5.93 percent of the members are under 30; 18 percent are between the ages of 31 and 40; 22.95 percent are between 41 and 50; 23 percent of the party members are between 51 and 60, while nearly one-third of the BSP members are over 60. The group of socialists under 50 has greatly increased within the last months and has reached 46 percent of the total party membership figure.

According to Aleksandur Tomov, "the age" of BSP members corresponds to the general age structure of the Bulgarian population.

Investigation of 'Catastrophic Situation' Begins

AU1003195291 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 10 (BTA)—The preliminary inquiry which is to identify the culprits for the catastrophic situation in Bulgaria has started. "This is a superinquiry," a prosecutor said on TV today. It will find out the guilt, if any, of the top Communist Party leadership, and members of governments between 1956 and November 10, 1989 when Todor Zhivkov was toppled.

The prosecutor said that "interesting classified documents, had come to light."

He said that the purpose of the starting Case No 4, is to reveal the whole truth about the way in which this country's debt was incurred, about the activity of the Ministries of Foreign Trade and Foreign Affairs, and the Protection and Security Department which catered for the former higher echelon. The investigation is still in an early phase and no charges have been brought.

The ongoing trial of Todor Zhivkov and his close aide Milko Balev is "only a detail, of the whole picture," the prosecutor said.

Free Apartment Issue Raised at Zhivkov Trial

AU1203164891 Sofia BTA in English 1553 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 12 (BTA)—Tinko Vodenicharov and Stefan Dikin should have appeared in court to testify in the trial of Todor Zhivkov and Milko Balev, but as they both died, today the panel was deprived of some important evidence related to the flats distributed on secret orders from the office of the former No. 1. Two other witnesses were not found at their addresses.

The name of Tinko Vodenicharov, one of Zhivkov's former aides, has been frequently mentioned at the trial. Zhivkov himself insisted that he had dismissed Vodenicharov because the latter took unfair advantage of Zhivkov's authority. Twice the former secretary general voiced his suspicions saying that Vodenicharov might not have died of natural causes. According to Zhivkov his aide died after the ex-No. 1 was released from remand. While in custody, Zhivkov kept trying to get into touch with Vodenicharov, but first he was told that he suffered a nervous breakdown and then that he was dead.

Dikin was involved in the fulfilment of a secret government decree allocating a definite "portion" of the newly built housing in the capital to meet the needs of the nomenklatura. The witness Khristo Chernokozhev, former deputy chairman of the Sofia City Council, explained that one per cent of the flats built every year was set aside to meet these needs. According to him there were two secret housing stocks—one of them was held "in reserve" in case of natural calamities, the other was a "special" one. The flats of the special stock were distributed on the basis of verbal arrangements upon receipt of instructions from Zhivkov's office.

According to Temenuzhka Teofilova, deputy mayor of Sofia, summoned as witness at the trial, at the City Council of Sofia there was a special official (probably appointed by the Security and Protection Department) Petur Ganev (he is dead, too), who, being the head of the Housing Allocation Department, personally made the list of the flats that were to be distributed out of the special housing stock. Another official at Zhivkov's office, Lyuto Bozhev, also deceased, sent the housing department a list of the people who were to be granted flats.

It is supposed that out of an average of 14,000 newly built flats up to 140 were distributed on orders issued by Zhivkov's office. The borough councils were explicitly instructed not to check up the housing requirements of the privileged who were provided with flats. This one percent included necessarily flats in the centre of the city, besides the flats should not be ground-floor or uppermost-floor ones.

The beneficiaries of the special housing stock were not only members of the party and state top crust, there were prominent athletes, actors and intellectuals among them, too.

Just as in many other cases, Prosecutor Krasimir Zhekov found discrepancies between the court and the pre-trial testimonies of these witnesses.

Long-Time Aid Testifies at Trial

AU1103155091 Sofia BTA in English 1510 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—On November 11, 1989, the day after Zhivkov parted with power, he ordered the documents in his safe to be destroyed as the duplicates were deposited with the Security and Protection Department (SPD) serving the higher echelon. 15,000 leva had disappeared from Zhivkov's safe before 1985 and after that he used to keep in it only insignificant sums and bills from the SPD, Zhivkov's long-serving secretary, Ms. Angelina Gorinova, told the court hearing the Zhivkov/Balev case today.

According to Milko Balev, in 1960 Mao Zedong said in Moscow that Zhivkov was an energetic, clear-headed person and that he would nominate him "prime minister of the International Socialist Republic." Balev was reminded of these words by a statement made by a man who worked in Zhivkov's office. He stated that Balev had once told Zhivkov, that Bulgaria was too small a country for his great abilities.

Mr. Georgi Yordanov, former chairman of the Committee for Culture, alternate Politburo member and deputy prime minister, Zhivkov's aide Mr. Dimitur Metodiev, and people who worked at the two defendants' offices were questioned at today's hearing.

Some of the Western-made limos sold to the top nomenklatura were used by them and then resold, though not at auctions, to people serving in Zhivkov's office. His secretary Ms. Gorinova bought a used Mazda and obtained two flats in VIP blocks for her son. Other aides also profited from the privileges of the elect.

The Western-made limos sold by the SPD turned out to have, many defects, and were often returned and changed for new ones. There was a rise in the number of defects at the end of 1989. However, those entitled to the privileges grew more modest and gave them up.

Questions about Zhivkov's and Balev's fees were also asked at the hearing. Zhivkov had repeatedly said that he deposited the fees he received for his works in the Communist Party's fund. Reportedly, Milko Balev wanted to deposit money with the Lyudmila Zhivkova Foundation. For instance, Balev's chauffeur received his boss's fees with a warrant which said that the money was earmarked for the foundation. The fees, however, were given to Balev.

Witness Krum Vasilev, former chairman of the Press Committee, testified that he had been told not to deposit his entertainment allowance with the Savings Bank and to tell his family nothing about it.

Zhivkov's Grandson Faces Extradiction

AU1103201291 Sofia BTA in English 1933 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—Bulgaria's Prosecutor General has requested his Swiss counterpart to extradite to Bulgaria Todor Ivanov Slavkov, Todor Zhivkov's grandson. Today's government declaration guarantees that Bulgaria will observe all conditions laid down by the confederation of Switzerland concerning Todor Slavkov's extradition.

The government stated officially today that on request by the Swiss Government it will extradite any person (Bulgarian citizens excluded) concealed in this country and wanted by the Swiss competent authorities for reasons analogical to those given by the Bulgarian Government in Todor Slavkov's case. The Bulgarian competent authorities will comply with the conditions laid down in the letter of the Federal Department of Justice concerning Todor Ivanov Slavkov in the case of his extradition to Bulgaria. The government points out that the law does not envisage the death penalty on the charge brought against Todorov Ivanov Slavkov.

It is expressly mentioned that Todor Slavkov, grandson of Todor Zhivkov who is now on trial, is wanted on a charge of rape in complicity with another Bulgarian and a Hungarian citizen. There is no convention on legal cooperation between Bulgaria and Switzerland.

SDS Reviews Turkish Language Issue

AU1103172591 Sofia BTA in English 1624 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—The most influential Bulgarian opposition coalition in the legislature the Union of Democractic Forces (UDF) [SDS], has made a ambivalent assessment of the decision adopted by the legislature last Friday to postpone the introduction of Turkish language classes as an optional subject at the Bulgarian schools to the Autumn of 1991.

In its essence the decision categorically defends the constitutional right of everyone in Bulgaria to study his or her mother tongue, UDF leader Filip Dimitrov stated at today's regular briefing of the UDF. But he underlined that this postponement and, as he put it, the dropping of experimental Turkish language teaching at present, is an unpleasant fact which came about through the majority the Socialist Party holds in the legislature.

According to Mr. Dimitrov who has graduated in law, there are paragraphs in the now operating Bulgarian Penal Code (adopted in 1968) on the force of which the ideologists and activists of the so-called "regenerative process" (the forcible change of the Muslims' names in 1984-1985) can be indicted and brought to trial.

Mr. Filip Dimitrov reminded that the Socialists had changed their stand on the Turkish language problem three times first they absolutely supported the constitutional right to study one's mother tongue, then Mr. Mateev, the Socialist minister of education, issued instructions for the introduction of experimental Turkish language classes and, last Friday, thanks to the majority the Bulgarian Socialist Party holds in the legislature, the introduction of Turkish language classes at the Bulgarian schools was actually postponed. The leader of the UDF underlined that this was a dangerous trend in the behavior of the Socialist Party because tensions in the regions inhabited by ethnically mixed population are left smoldering. The ethnic Turks, whom Mr. Dimitrov called victims of the so-called regenerative process, and the Bulgarians living side by side with them, are left in the grip of contradictory feelings from which the Bulgarian Socialist Party may at some moment draw political dividents.

In the next few days the UDF is going to move in the legislature for depriving three BSP M.P's—two judges and a prosecutor—of their legislative mandate because of their direct participation in the "regenerative process." The opposition possesses documents proving their guilt.

UDF spokesman Mikhail Nedelchev said that the article brought out in today's DUMA, the daily of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, on collective and individual human rights was "a signal indicating a restoration of the theoretical ideas of the 'regenerative process.'"

Radical Party Stages Rally

AU1103205191 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Expressing disagreement with the recent decision of the Grand National Assembly about the introduction of Turkish language lessons in Bulgarian educational institutions and protesting against the instructions related to obstruction of traffic in the city, the National Radical Party in Kurdzhali called for symbolic strikes in local industrial enterprises and for new boycotts against regular classes in school which were resumed today. This was announced at a rally organized the City Committee of the Bulgarian National Radical Party in Kurdzhali tonight. As a sign of protest, the participants in the rally made a heap of stones and large pieces of metal on the marble plate decorating the square in front of the City Council Headquarters. The more the solution of the nationality problem is delayed, the more quickly the heap of stones will grow, a speaker of the party declared in closing the rally.

Protests Continue; Traffic Blocked

AU1103091491 Sofia BTA in English 2055 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 10 (BTA)—A small number of adherents to the National Radical Party are still protesting incidentally the decision about the introduction of optional Turkish language classes in Bulgarian schools from the new school year.

The bridge over the River Danube at Ruse and traffic in the center of Razgrad were blocked today. There are tensions in Kurdzhali while in other regions the situation is returning to normal.

SDS Declaration on Red Symbols at National Day

AU1103193191 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 5 Mar 91 p 1

["Declaration of the SDS Coordinating Council on Certain Facts Related to Celebrating 3 March—National Day of Republic of Bulgaria"; place and date not given]

[Text] We, representatives of the organizations and parties united in the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], express our satisfaction with the manner in which the Bulgarian public marked 3 March, the National Day of the Republic of Bulgaria. The ceremony at the Monument of the Unknown Soldier with the participation of President Zhelyu Zhelev and other ceremonies at so many holy places, as well as the religious services, amply expressed the complex emotions related to the importance of this historical date. We express our satisfaction with the mass rally of our supporters that took place on Sofia's center and that expressed our supporters' conviction that historical review has a meaning only when it aims at decisively destroying the totalitarian system, which paralyzed the country.

Unfortunately, during the holiday, facts were evident that showed that the depoliticization of the Army and units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is far from being completed. Attempts were observed on the part of high-ranking officials to revive the influence of the communist ideology and again impose the notion about the leading role of a certain party. Especially drastic was the case of the 3 March festive tattoo, conducted at the National Assembly's central entrance. The representative military units carried red flags decorated with hammers and sickles. It was proposed to pay tribute to the memory of the victims of the "first anti-fascist insurrection" in the world in 1923, despite the fact that the reassessment of this historical event provoked by the Comintern is well-known. It appears that those red flags, so dear to the red economic nomenklatura, were indeed indicators aimed at warning all that nothing has changed, and that the privileged class of former and not-so-former Communists has not lost anything.

According to the mass media, the presence of Andrey Lukanov among the four officials who received the report at the tattoo, directly next to Defense Minister Colonel General Mutafchiev, evoked the indignation of thousands of citizens. The SDS Coordinating Council assesses his presence as a violation of all possible protocols and as an imposture. As deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, Lukanov should have been with the other representatives of organizations and parties. With his assumption of an honorary presence, he implied that our National Day continues to be merely the supreme act of unceasing gratitude for freedom presented as a gift.

On the same day the cadets of the Pazardzhik Militia School were sworn in. The cadets had to kiss the red flag decorated with the symbols of the communist ideology, marked even with the unconstitutional name People's Republic of Bulgaria. It is well-known that our state has a different name. This fact prompted Minister Danov, who attended the ceremony, to say the following to the cadets: "Remember that today you give the oath to Bulgaria's tricolor, rather than to the flags of various parties and movements." Unfortunately, once again they took the oath in front of the red communist flag.

We draw the attention of the two ministers to the fact that the principles of depoliticization must be strictly preserved. Everything must be done for the introduction of changes in the charters and regulations, and for the replacement of the red flags by the national tricolor and other appropriate combat flags. Bulgarian citizens no longer wish to see symbols on television that express the power ambitions of a certain party.

Trade Union Leader on Social Protection Measures

AU1103183591 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
5 Mar 91 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Professor Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, by Rayna Vulcheva; place and date not given: "The Trade Unions Would Like to Open the 'Social Umbrella'"]

[Excerpts] [Vulcheva] I would like to begin our interview by asking about your approach to the problem of trade unions in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense and to the tension that recently emerged in this connection?

[Petkov] The tension was artificially fanned as a result of a distorted quotation from a recent statement made by Internal Affairs Minister Danov. The question was already clarified during my telephone conversation with the minister and as a result of a meeting with the chairman of the trade union of temporary employees [volnonaemni sluzhiteli] at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but I am willing to go back to it, if necessary.

What about the question whether trade unions of temporary employees should exist within the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Defense, or not? This question has alrady been resolved for us. Such trade unions were established and have asserted themselves with great efforts, despite the stubborn resistance of the leading bodies in the aforementioned ministries, which were not used to having active partners stand up against them. As for the regular officers' staffs, the protection of their interests could be implemented with different methods. Appropriate solutions exist in the civilized world. Policemen's trade unions exist in certain countries, for example, while they do not exist in others. Officers' organizations have been established in both the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Defense and have already assumed certain trade union functions.

Nevertheless, if Podkrepa should establish its own organization among the officers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Defense, our Executive Committee will presumably discuss the new situation. Under any circumstance, Podkrepa is engaged in political activities through its organizations and this would certainly interfere with the agreement signed in 1990. [passage omitted]

[Vulcheva] What is your opinion on the "social protection umbrella?" To what extent does it cover the needs, where does it fail, and what else would the trade unions wish in this respect?

[Petkov] For the time being, the "umbrella" does not cover any needs, because it merely exists on paper, under the form of administrative acts and instructions. I pointed out on several occasions that the very system of additional social protection is still nonexistent, that it has not been firmly established, and that it leaves several hundred thousand people unprotected. The independent trade unions are ready to offer their assistance in this respect and to cooperate with the social protection system on a parity basis as long as this is useful. We recently confirmed our stand at a meeting with the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare. [passage omitted]

[Vulcheva] Let us focus further on the social issues. How far has the work on the social security system progressed?

[Petkov] A third, new version has been drafted by government experts with the participation of our trade union experts. We submitted our draft version for a new social security system to the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare as early as in November 1990. A substantial portion of our draft program was taken into consideration. We agreed with the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare that the new draft law should be published in the daily TRUD so it may be discussed by the public both prior to and simultaneously with the debate at the Tripartite Commission and with the long-awaited debate at the Grand National Assembly.

[Vulcheva] Recently, some people manifested their appetites for the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions' [KNSB] property. What about this question?

[Petkov] We already published a declaration on this question (The declaration was published in yesterday's issue—TRUD editorial note). I would like to add that those who are eager to "nationalize" the property of the KNSB will not have an easy task. This already happened 45 years ago. The fact that the initiative of confiscating our property comes from Podkrepa of all places, namely from another similar organization that claims to be a trade union hardly requires a comment.

[Vulcheva] Does this mean a new clash between your organization and the Podkrepa Labor Federation?

[Petkov] No. As far as we are concerned, no one would benefit from such a clash, and this applies to our members, in particular. People have the greatest confidence in the trade unions and they are absolutely justified in doing so. In addition to this, as it appeared from Podkrepa's last news conference, their views do not basically differ from ours. As for their stand on unemployment and on the question of economic leaders, their stand coincides with ours.

[Vulcheva] A great intensification of your activities in the sphere of international relations was recently observed. Does this imply a duplication of your efforts and attention?

[Petkov] We, the trade unions, should get involved with the highly developed nations of the civilized world in everything that happens in our country today, from integration with Europe to international assistance. [passage omitted]

Recently, a new element has emerged in our our international contacts. We are obliged to negotiate about guaranteeing social protection for our workers and specialists in foreign countries, whenever large groups of them are going abroad, especially when this happens on the basis of intergovernmental agreements. [passage omitted]

Citizens Polled on Attitudes to Economic Reform

AU1203133091 Sofia BTA in English 1250 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 12 (BTA)—35.4 per cent of Bulgarians accept the first steps of the economic reform as a necessary evil, 9.4 per cent show understanding and approval, while 50.6 per cent protest against them.

These are data from the first of a series of surveys "Bulgarians in the crisis" published in today's "TRUD." The survey has been conducted by the Institute for Trade Union and Social Research and refers to the first 25 days of the economic reform which started on February 1. Though not representative, the survey is highly indicative, according to experts.

70.2 per cent of Bulgarians support the liberalization of prices. 45.9 per cent have food supplies to see them through to the end of March, 36.1 per cent have no supplies at all.

53.5 per cent of the respondents find unemployment the hardest thing to bear by the year's end, the high interest rate comes next with 40.8 per cent, and shortages are the worst problem for 33.2 per cent of the respondents. But the overwhelming part of the Bulgarians—81.9 per cent, fear exorbitant prices most. 71.5 per cent would accept boycott as an action against a possible continued chaos of rigged prices. Only 16.5 per cent would back strike action. 35.2 per cent would back large-scale protests and rallies against high prices.

63 per cent of the respondents consider themselves neither rich nor poor. 35.6 per cent think they have already become poor. 53.2 per cent of the respondents in the survey think they will be poor in the future, while 40.3 per cent point out that their children will be poor.

65.9 per cent opted for economizing and minimal expenses when asked about their survival strategy. 57.5 per cent opted for a sideline.

54.6 per cent of respondents believe in principle that the trade unions can alleviate the negative consequences of the economic reform, 16.7 believe this without reservations, and 19.1 do not believe this at all.

A special telephone inquiry conducted by the National Public Opinion Centre at the end of February and published today in the "168 CHASA" weekly showed that four out of five Sofianites believe that private business would help Bulgaria overcome the shortages and the economic crisis.

79.6 per cent of the Sofianites prefer high prices and well-stocked shops while 5.4 per cent prefer low prices and shortages. 77.88 per cent would accept Bulgaria to have its millionaires. This figure shows an abrupt change in the way of thinking of the average Bulgarian who only a year ago could not even imagine the Bulgarian society to be divided into rich and poor.

The people who are better off prefer private business while those with low incomes cling desperately to their state jobs.

At present the image of the Bulgarian businessman is greatly idealized. Most people believe that his intellect comes second to his will and that his success stems from his courage rather than his brains.

Like all other Bulgarians, Sofianites fear unemployment most. Almost every second respondent said he was afraid of losing his job.

Debts To Soviets Could Stem Oil Flow

AU1103224291 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 7 Mar 91 p 1

[Stoyan Sirakov report: "Supply of Soviet Oil Could Stop If Our Country Continues To Be Debtor"]

[Text] The oil supply from the USSR can stop any day if decisive measures are not adopted for boosting the export of Bulgarian goods. The understanding is that the Soviet side has its limits, because the imbalance already exceeds several hundred million dollars, Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, chairman of the commission on operational coordination and control over power and raw material supply, said at the commission's meeting, which took place on 6 March.

According to the bilateral agreement, by the first quarter of the year we must receive 1,250,000 tonnes. So far we have received 480,000 tonnes. The general ration of the export of Bulgarian goods in exchange of Soviet energy resources is 1 to 4. Subsequently, the exporters to the USSR and the agricultural companies will have priority in the distribution of the fuels.

Private companies most probably will be denied the possibility to lease gasoline stations. Most of the commission's members are concerned with the striving toward rapid profits, something that could prompt the import of ready gasoline instead of oil. Tomov proposed the services of a group of Greek companies for the next 10-15 years. The mechanism of leasing gasoline stations, however, has yet to be worked out.

The country's power supply system works normally. This will not cause the abolition of the regime, which will continue to function at least during the next two months, Mr. Ivan Markov, deputy chairman of the Committee on Power Supply, said. The situation with the mazut is again alarming, this time because of the shortage of small tankers for its transportation.

Despite the extended term for using the coupons, many of the coupons still have not been used, Mr. Khristo

Drenkarov, general manager of the "Petroleum" Company thinks. This involves some 3,000-4,000 tonnes, and causes long lines at the gasoline stations.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs has worked out a plan on preserving the fuels, ending fuel speculation, and eliminating attempts to steal fuel during its transportation. The plan will be coordinated with the "Petroleum" Company by 7 March. The meeting participants stated that attempts have been observed on the part of the employees of the gasoline stations to resell gasoline coupons.

Gasoline and Diesel Oil Shortage

AU1103115391 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 Mar 91 p 1

[Boris Gergov report: "Gasoline and Diesel Oil Supplies Will Cover Two-Thirds of Current Needs"]

[Text] The Soviet Union has confirmed that in March Bulgaria is expected to receive 400,000 tonnes of oil and 15,000 tonnes of mazut. Kupen Dimov, trade department manager of the "Petrol" Company announced yesterday that these supplies are expected to cover two-thirds of the country's gasoline and diesel oil needs.

The mazut supplies from Turkey continue. These deliveries, and locally produced mazut supplies amount to approximately 200,000 tonnes, which is expected to cover nearly 75 percent of the needs.

Considering that ration cards are currently being distributed for March and April, it is possible that the sale restrictions might be removed after this period, the manager of the trade department says. Kupen Dimov, however, would not like to commit himself to forecasts about gasoline prices, considering that they will become part of the "consumers' basket." He expressed his conviction that after the Gulf war oil prices would drop on the world market and it would be possible to purchase gasoline at 25 cents per liter according to wholesale prices.

Turkish Business Forum Opens in Varna

AU1203084491 Sofia BTA in English 2107 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Varna, March 11 (BTA)—The first big meeting of the Bulgarian and the Turkish business circles is already a fact. Attracted by the idea of expanding the business contacts between the two countries, the representatives of more than 250 Bulgarian state and private companies are already in Varna. Turkey has made 95 entries, but the actual number of her delegates is 123, including managers and experts of 99 companies. They were selected by the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce. Its partner is the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

The Ecopan Company undertook to act as an agent for the establishment of business contacts. It seeks to become a data bank containing information about the Turkish business, the most prospect-holding exporters and Turkey's investment activity.

The hope that the forum in Varna will be a good start opening a new period in the two countries' business relations was emphasized in the speech made by Mr. Yalcin Oral, ambassador of Turkey.

According to the president of the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Hamdi Tombak [spelling as received], despite the common historic heritage and the favorable realities the two countries' business relations have never reached a satisfactory level.

In the opinion of the participants in the forum the very presence of businessmen representing Turkey's leading companies which have a lot of international experience, and Bulgaria's orientation to a market economy give ground for optimism as to Bulgarian-Turkish business relations.

U.S. Corn Shipment Arrives in Burgas

AU1103091091 Sofia BTA in English 2031 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] Burgas, March 10 (BTA)—"For little more than a year the relations between the United States and Bulgaria were placed on an entirely new basis," the U.S. Ambassador to Bulgaria Mr. Hugh Kenneth Hill said.

"Spirit of Texas," which ferried 30,000 tonnes fodder maize granted by the United States left the port of Burgas today. "The Pride of Texas," which is the same company's flagship arrived here today freighted with 32,000 tonnes of maize.

At the port U.S. Ambassador told a BTA reporter that he was glad that the bilateral economic, trade and cultural contacts had grown more active.

Mr. Hill said that the first U.S. visit by the Bulgarian head of state Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, the visits to Bulgaria by U.S. State Secretary James Baker, Senators and Congressmen, and by the minister of justice have become cornerstones marking the new beginning of Bulgaro-American friendship. Mr. Hill also said that the new trade agreement which will be signed in Washington, and the granting of status of most-favored-nation to Bulgaria will promote bilateral business and cultural contacts to an entirely new level.

Slovak Republic's Draft of Sovereignty Declaration

91CH0407A Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 2 Mar 91 p 4

["Text" of Draft Declaration of Slovak Republic's Sovereignty]

[Text] The Slovak National Council, in the spirit of the political and historical legacy of the Great Moravian Realm and the Cyrillo-Methodian spiritual heritage, mindful of the experiences of the Slovak nation in the centuries-long struggle for national existence and political self-determination, resolved to push through the rights of members of national and ethnic groups living in the Slovak Republic, having respect for neighboring and other nations, declaring the Slovak Republic as a full-fledged, independent member of the European and global community of states, in agreement with the principles of universally recognized international acts, cognizant of the responsibility for the future of the Slovak nation and expressing its will—solemnly proclaims the state sovereignty of the Slovak Republic in the sense of the supremacy of its state power on the territory of the Slovak Republic and independence in international relations.

ARTICLE 1

The Slovak Republic is a sovereign state that has come into existence on the basis of the inalienable right of the Slovak nation to self-determination, the national character of its language, and the supreme right to determine its own fate.

All rights of the Slovak Republic as a sovereign democratic and legal state are realized in accordance with the generally valid norms of international law.

The Slovak Republic, represented by constitutional bodies, has its own state emblem, flag, anthem, and seal.

Any forcible act by an individual, organization, or political movement against the state sovereignty of the Slovak Republic and its territorial integrity is unlawful. A territorial change of the Slovak Republic can be carried out only on the basis of a decision of the Slovak National Council.

ARTICLE 2

The bearer of the sovereignty and the only source of state power of the Slovak Republic [SR] are the citizens of the SR.

All citizens of the SR without regard to nationality, religious affiliation, social background, status, race, or sex are equal.

The right to act on behalf of the Slovak nation and the people of the SR belongs only to the legally constituted Slovak National Council and the Government of the Slovak Republic.

ARTICLE 3

The state sovereignty of the Slovak Republic is being brought to life in the interest of a free development and dignified life of every SR citizen by guaranteeing civil rights and freedoms in accordance with its constitution and pertinent international commitments.

All forms of ownership enjoy equal protection under the law.

ARTICLE 4

The granting and taking away of state citizenship is an inseparable part of the sovereignty of the Slovak Republic.

The Slovak Republic protects the rights, health, and lawful interests of its citizens, and takes care to guarantee their social certainties.

No one can have their state citizenship taken away against their will. The citizens of the Slovak Republic are under its protection even outside the borders of the SR.

ARTICLE 5

The land, mineral wealth, and other natural resources on SR territory, as well as the air space, are the property of the Slovak people.

The Slovak Republic has the right to its share of the gold holding of the CSFR and of its foreign currency reserves.

The Slovak Republic creates its own economic system. It establishes a Slovak National Bank, financial and credit system, it issues permits to establish other banks on its territory, organizes its own taxation, customs, and postal administration. If necessary, it will create its own monetary system.

It will resort to price regulation only when unavoidable and in the interests of the social certainties of SR citizens.

ARTICLE 6

On the territory of the Slovak Republic its laws are supreme.

In the event that any law would be in contradiction to the laws of the SR, it will not be enforced on its territory without the consent of the Slovak National Council.

For the purpose of observing the constitution and the laws, the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic is being established.

ARTICLE 7

The Slovak Republic sets aside in its budget the necessary resources for the development of the cultural and spiritual life of the Slovak nation and members of national minorities and ethnic groups living on its territory, including the use of television, radio, film, press, and other means of communication which are its property.

The Slovak Republic attends to the development of the Slovak language as the state and official language.

It guarantees national minorities and ethnic groups the right to use their language in accordance with international laws. Details will be determined by law.

ARTICLE 8

The Slovak Republic creates its own armed forces and agencies of state and public security.

No foreign armed units may be deployed on SR territory without previous consent of the Slovak National Council and the SR Government.

The Slovak Republic supports efforts leading to a general arms reduction, particularly weapons of mass destruction, and to its own neutrality.

ARTICLE 9

The Slovak National Council will bring into life the goals of this declaration by adopting the Constitution of the Slovak Republic.

ARTICLE 10

The Slovak Republic freely, voluntarily, and independently decides about entering into unions with other states or withdrawing from them.

The Slovak Republic, after declaring its sovereignty, proposes to the Czech Republic the making of a state treaty on cooperation in the spirit of the principles on which both republics will come to an agreement.

SOVEREIGN SLOVAKIA—61 years to Slovak identity; KORENE—Society of Slovak Intelligentsia; STUR SOCIETY; SLOVAK NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT; SYNTHESIS 90

Agreement with the Declaration expressed by: Milan Ferko, Milan Rufus, Roman Kalisky, Milan Laluha, Vladimir Minac, Ladislav Tazky, Stefan Moravcik, Jaroslav Reznik, academician Jan Dekan, Anton Hykisch, Andrej Ferko, Eva Kristinova, Dr. Matus Kucera, Dr. Rudolf Marsina, Pavol Stevcek, Dr. Karol Rebro, Dr. Bartolomej Kunz, Dr. Jaroslav Chovanec, Eng. Marian Tkac, Dr. Eugen Husar, Dr. Jan Cuper, Dr. Mojmir Mamojka, Eng. Jozef Magala, Viliam Hornacek, Dr. Anton Hrnko, Eng. Dusan Kuzma, Dr. Michal Gaspar, Dr. Florian Sivak, Dr. Jozef Fischer, Dr. Zoltan Valentovic, Peter Gomolcak, Peter Valcek, Viktor Matuga, Milan Blahynka, Dr. Jan Bobak, Dr. Peter Brnak, Eng. Vladimir Repka, Dr. Julius Porubsky, Marcel Mihalik, Dr. Tomas Pardel, Dr. Ivan Hudec, Emilia Boldisova.

Slovak Independence Memorandum Discussed

LD1203225191 Prague Federal Television Network in Czech 1830 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Interview with Matica Slovenska Chairman Jozef Markus and Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko by unidentified reporter on 12 March; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] At 1300 today the representatives of Matica Slovenska, led by their chairman Jozef Markus, handed over to Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko the memorandum they adopted at yesterday's rally at the Slovak National Uprising Square. After the reception, talks behind closed doors took place. When the talks ended, we spoke to Jozef Markus:

[Markus] We talked about the way Mr. Chairman of the Slovak National Council viewed the rally's memorandum, then we discussed what the next period will be like for all our citizens, noting that they will have to decide in one way or another about the future of Slovakia and its future state legislative setup.

[Reporter] Mr. Chairman, what is your view on the memorandum of Matica Slovenska?

[Miklosko] I think that in these times it is necessary to speak calmly, in a matter-of-fact way, but we must be open. The declaration proclaiming sovereignty of the Slovak Republic is a declaration proclaiming independence of the Slovak Republic. It speaks very clearly about independent foreign policy, about independent defense, about its own currency, and so on. It says that the main representatives of the Slovak Republic are the Slovak National Council and the Slovak Government. Only after the proclamation of this sovereignty will the Slovak Republic be ready to adopt a treaty on an agreement with the Czech Republic, if the Czech Republic is willing to do so. If it is not, the Slovak Republic will remain an independent state. This must be said.

This is the way we ought to look at it: We have opened a discussion on the constitution, and naturally every view is acceptable, every view will be heard. Now the question must be put in such a way that if the trend that demands the proclamation of sovereignty would like to speed things up, and if it is impatient, if it does not want to accept an open and matter-of-fact discussion about the constitution, then we must expect that naturally also the president of the Republic and the federal bodies will not remain idle. This means that it might happen rather quickly that the Federal Assembly will adopt a law on referendum, and that the president of the Republic will declare a referendum that will require the individual republics and the citizens, separately in each republic, to make their view known on whether they want to live in a federation or not. I am worried that such a speedy step might escalate all the tension.

Therefore I think that in these moments everything must be discussed, we must speak openly, and all this should be directed toward a discussion that should end with a national consensus. [passage omitted]

Havel Submits Draft of Constitution to Public

LD1303103891 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0930 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] President Vaclav Havel is submitting his own draft of the new federal constitution to the public today. He regards adoption of the new federal constitution as a very important task of the federal bodies elected in free legislative elections and as his own task. He gave detailed information about the draft at the briefing held at Prague Castle on Tuesday, 5 March, where he promised to inform the public about the draft. He is now fulfilling his promise and is making public the full text of his draft of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic constitution.

Political Parties' Views on Federation Reviewed

LD1303035191 Prague CTK in English 1930 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Prague/Bratislava March 12 (CTK)—The Slovak National Party is the only party represented in the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) which openly declares the demand for the creation of a sovereign Slovak state.

After yesterday's demonstration in Bratislava in support of the declaration of Slovakia's sovereignty CTK asked representatives of Czech and Slovak parties about their opinion on the current situation. The poll showed that all Czech parties support the preservation of the federation and the Slovak coalition parties condition its further existence by equality of both republics.

Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, chairman of the Civic Democratic Party (which emerged from the split of the strongest Czech political movement, the Civic Forum) said that a federation based on the national principle is an unstable formation. He proposed the creation of a federal state based on the territorial principle (this proposal is unacceptable for Slovak parties represented in the federal coalition). If no agreement on a stable constitutional setup is reached "it would be better to separate," Klaus said.

The Civic Movement, the other group in the Civic Forum, is of the opinion that a joint state corresponds in the best way with the economic and political interests of the republics.

The Czechoslovak People's Party suggests the holding of a referendum. The Self-Government Democracy Movement-Society for Moravia and Silesia (striving for a regional setup for Moravia) says that "some politicians' fear of the possibility of a split of the Czechoslovak state is groundless."

The opposition federation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia wants a federal state in which "the powers of the republics ensue from national sovereignty." Chairman of a member party of the federation, the Party of the Demcoratic Left, Peter Weiss said at a press conference in Bratislava today that the declaration on Slovakia's sovereignty, supported by yesterday's demonstration in Bratislava is a "realistic fact which must be considered seriously."

The Slovak Public Against Violence (VPN) movement gave no answer to the CTK poll. The breakaway platform "VPN-For Demcratic Slovakia", associating supporters of Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, wants a "joint Czechoslovak state based on just principles and equality of both subjects," i.e. of the Czech and the Slovak Republics.

VPN's coalition partner, the Slovak Christian Demcoratic Movement, is for a constitutional setup of the Czechoslovak Federation on the basis of a state treaty which would be concluded between the two republics.

Acting Chairman of the Nationalist Slovak National Party Andrej Findo told CTK that his party's aim is "an independent sovereign state"—The Slovak National Party has 23 out of 150 seats in the Slovak parliament, and 15 out of 300 seats in the federal parliament.

Calfa: No Group Plans Country 'Liquidation'

LD1203104991 Prague CTK in English 2206 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 11 (CTK)—No political force has had the liquidation of Czechoslovakia in its program, Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa told CTK today.

He added that in his opinion the basic problem dwells in the calls on the Slovak National Council (parliament), i.e. deputies elected in free elections, to behave in an unconstitutional way. He recalled that the appeals for Slovakia's independence are calls on the Slovak National Council to break the law while the international community "expects us to behave in a democratic way."

He further said that all public opinion polls have so far shown that the Slovak nation wishes to live with the Czech nation in independent republics forming a federation. If the calls for Slovakia's sovereignty voiced at today's demonstration in Bratislava are that strong, then it is necessary to seriously consider the question of a referendum, he pointed out.

According to Calfa, representatives of the Czech and Slovak nations must try to find such a solution which would help the nation and contribute to its development. He pointed out that the path put forward in Slovakia is neither democratic nor feasible and does not lead to the advancement of the Slovak nation.

Prime Minister Pithart on Impact of Slovak Crisis

LD1203204391 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1800 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Interview with Czech Prime Minster Petr Pithart by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "A Meeting with the Prime Minister of the Czech Government"—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, unfortunately, we have to return yet again to serious and worrying matters—I have in mind the present events in Slovakia: the split in the Public Against Violence leadership, the declaration on the state sovereignty of the Slovak Republic, preparations for the anniversary of the birth of the Slovak state in 1939, demonstrations, rallies and so on. To what extent does this concern the stand and activity of the Czech Government?

[Pithart] It concerns us very much indeed. The importance of the Slovak internal political crisis has exceeded the borders of the Slovak Republic, and it is becoming a matter for the whole federation. There is a danger of a breakup of the common state.

[Reporter] What steps are being taken by the Czech Government?

[Pithart] The Czech Government does not intend to intensify the crisis in Czech-Slovak coexistence in the common state. However, this coexistence is being decided upon today not in the Czech Republic but in Slovakia. Although we consider the extreme possibility as undesirable, we have to be ready for it nevertheless. Thus the Presidium of the Czech Government yesterday set up a special operative commission that will draft all the necessary measures. I mean those measures that we may possibly have to carry out in an extreme case.

[Reporter] If I should ask you what sort of measures, you would no doubt say that this is too early to say. Could you at least tell me how you view these manifestations of Slovak dissatisfaction?

[Pithart] This is not only a question of Slovakia, but we shall get to that. You must see that the basic directives of our post-November [1989] policy have had their opponents from the very beginning. At the same time, accompanying phenomena of this policy, especially economic ones, have consequences for the people's standard of living, and the people also react with dissatisfaction. On one hand, there is the effort of resolute opponents, and on the other hand, there is also the dissatisfaction of broad strata. I also see in the present events a manifestation of an effort to give both of these phenomena a common factor. Why is this successful in Slovakia today? Slovakia is also more scared of economic reform, because it will mean greater sacrifices there. In the past 40 years Slovakia has gained several things faster than has been the case in the Czech lands, and what it has gained is now threatened. The need for economic reform is possibly not felt as being so urgent there. But Slovakia is not alone—there is also dissatisfaction in Moravia, and as I have heard, some trade unionists are planning to demonstrate their dissatisfaction. In all this I see a manifestation of opposition to the economic reform and against parliamentary democracy in our country. Possibly also an organized opposition, I do not exclude this possibility. But one has to be careful—only if there are first real problems can supporters of the old regime be successful in linking them, accumulating them, and misusing them.

[Reporter] Thus this is is a serious internal political conflict. We could say that this is a general crisis, possibly the most seriou since November [1989]. How do you envisage that the public will behave?

[Pithart] As its future is at stake, the future of all of us is at stake, it should, above all, understand all of this. Naturally some demagogic slogans about Moravia, about Slovak sovereignty, about social certainties and so on are a maneuver by which the public is to be won over by those forces that are against the reform and against democracy. I can only appeal to the public in this respect, and it is up to every individual whether to remain a sensible citizen of the democratic state or to become a part of a manipulated and misused crowd. In a situation like the present one, things depend not only on governments and legislatures, not only on leaderships of political parties and movements, but literally on every individual citizen, and I am glad that I can now remind listeners about this here.

[Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, you have recently returned from the USSR. Just by the way, I want to mention one of my apprehensions: In the shot where you are coming out of the aircraft, I was expecting you to embrace the Soviet partners, just as we have seen it in recent past. But let us go back to the actual visit.

[Pithart] I must correct you, Mr. Editor, it was not a visit to the USSR, but to Russia, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. The Russian Federation, from the state and legal points of view, is in approximately the same relation to the USSR as the Czech Republic is to the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. It was in fact an inter-regional contact. We all know that the market of CEMA has collapsed. But it was a market for products of a considerable proportion of our industrial enterprises. This production, however, is now in jeopardy. We have calculated that if in several months there is no turn for the better, in the department of the Ministry of Industry alone we can expect unemployment of 400,000.

On the other hand, we depend to a large extent on imports from the USSR. What is involved is first of all oil, but not only oil. That is why we went to Russia to establish contacts between Russia and the Czech Republic. We tried to save something from the disintegrating market by these direct talks.

[Reporter] Could you tell us how our government delegation was received, and what you achieved in actual terms?

[Pithart] In the end it was also received at union level, we were also received by the Chairman of the Soviet Government, Mr. Pavlov, so that the talks were conducted, so to speak, in two tiers. By exerting pressure and by being stubborn to a certain extent, we managed to persuade the Soviet partners that their idea of us now only dealing in dollars for years to come is unrealistic and that it is disadvantageous, perhaps more so for Soviet enterprises and for Soviet consumers than for us. Our enterprises—within the framework of internal convertibility—are capable of acquiring quite a large sum of freely convertible currency, whereas the Soviet ones cannot. The republic and the federation literally will take everything from them. At the same time, naturally, there is great interest in our products. We were seeking gaps in the rules—somewhat dogmatically set forth, in my opinion—in the USSR, exceptions that would send us back either to the clearing system of trading or to so-called barter trading—that was the way in Western Europe for 15 years between states that did not have freely convertible currency.

Simply put, we tried not to be dogmatic and dared to implement exceptional solutions if they were advantageous for either side. First of all, we immediately tried to set up working groups and to talk, talk, talk.

[Reporter] In conclusion, Mr. Prime Minister, I should like to confirm some rumors that we hear about you. At Saturday's meeting of the Civic Movement, we heard in the lobbies that some people in trade union circles want to establish a left-wing party, some sort of a labor party, and that you would be leading it. Others seem to say that you intend to enter the Civic Democratic Party of Mr. Minister Klaus. I also heard through the grapevine that you are taking part in a press conference that is being organized by extra-parliamentary opposition parties.

[Pithart] I am taken aback, so many rumors, and they contradict each other! I assure you that they are all false. I continue to endorse the Civic Movement. I already explained why, and I did not conceal the fact that I will probably take a place on the right side of the political spectrum. Personally, I prefer the middle position, I do not mean the middle path, but the actual center, because it is where syntheses are being created.

[Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, thank you for the interview.

Prime Minister Pithart Favors 'Common State'

LD1203204191 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] In an interview with a CTK reporter, Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart spoke about the situation in Slovakia. He said that we want a common state, but not at any cost. He emphasized that the Czech Government must be ready for different variants of a constitutional setup, even for the extreme one—the rise of two independent sovereign republics. The prime minister did not rule out a visit to Slovakia and noted that, in many instances, it is a question of misunderstandings in interpretation of some claims, and, in the end, it turns out that a viable political solution does exist.

Soviet Embassy Denies Statements on Situation

LD1203180191 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] The Soviet Embassy press secretary in Czechoslovakia has asked the Slovak branch of CTK to publish the following declaration:

According to some Czechoslovak deputies, lately our media have published statements allegedly made by Orlov, Soviet consul in Bratislava, in connection with the current situation in Slovakia.

The Soviet Embassy press service is authorized to declare that the statements allegedly made by the Soviet diplomat were never made.

Meciar Writes Open Letter on New Platform

LD1203105391 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Vladimir Meciar, member of the Slovak council of Public Against Violence [VPN] and Slovak prime minister, sent an open letter to the VPN clubs in Slovakia. In it he says, among other things, that the platform developing in the movement is not aimed against VPN principles or against the program Chance for Slovakia.

He says that the initiative's most important objective is the bridging of the artificially created dispute between the civic and national conception of the program. The second objective of the platform For Democratic Slovakia, according to Meciar, is protection against the turning to the right of the VPN political orientation. The third is the renewal of internal democracy and the open policy.

New VPN Group Attempts To Reconcile Factions

AU1203151691 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 11 Mar 91 p 1

["(NO)"-signed report: "Our Obligation to the Voters Remains"]

[Text] Bratislava—Following the 11th Slovak National Council [SNR] session, a group of Public Against Violence [VPN] movement deputies from the SNR and the Federal Assembly—the Center Initiative [Iniciativa Stredu]—held a meeting and issued the following joint statement:

The VPN movement is undergoing internal differentiation. We believe that an awareness of these differences would be useful. The time is, obviously, ripe for this; however, we all have a common obligation to the voters. We took on the responsibility for laying the foundations of a modern society in which it would be possible to attain a European standard of prosperity.

We see no fundamental difference between the platforms declared by both streams within the movement. Each of these streams considers its platform to be the original one. Further differences are apparent in the ways and methods they utilize to assert them; however, we would like to point out that the genuine VPN movement advocated tolerance in mutual relations. Without this, it is absolutely impossible to achieve and guarantee an individual's freedom. Wherever intolerance succeeds, anxiety and fear flourish and civilized political behavior is lost.

In view of these common principles, the Center Initiative movement will strive for the integration of forces in fulfilling the "A Chance for Slovakia" program and the Slovak Republic Government's policy statement to ensure that the public is the only winner.

Signed by Karol Dubjel; Alfred Hasko; Ivan Jaros; Ivan Luptak; Jozef Moravcik; Jozef Nemet; and Jan Pauco.

VPN Issues Statement on Breakaway Platform

AU1203141991 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 11 Mar 91 pp 1, 3

[Statement issued by the Public Against Violence movement Slovak Council following its session in Bratislava on 9 March: "Our Aim: Economic Prosperity"]

[Text] We differ in our methods and aims. A group of Public Against Violence [VPN] movement Slovak Council members, headed by Messrs. V. Meciar and M. Knazko, walked out of the first session of the new VPN Slovak Council—in which all of Slovakia's districts are represented—and founded their own "For a Democratic Slovakia" platform that they claim is based on the VPN's original program. It is impossible, however, for them to base their program on this movement's original program and, at the same time, cast doubt on the validity of the conclusions reached at the VPN republican assembly and on the legitimacy of the VPN Slovak Council that was established as a result of this Republican Assembly. By taking this step, they have, in fact, placed themselves outside the movement.

They did not attempt to assert their platform within the VPN's most senior body in harmony with its articles. Instead of a dialogue and an attempt to come to an agreement within the movement's framework, they used methods that violate the democratic rules for resolving ideological and political disputes: Denouncing the movement's elected representatives and misinforming the public by disseminating groundless claims in the mass media. These conflicts have increased tension among already uncertain citizens, have endangered the unsteady balance on our political scene, and have palpably jeopardized confidence not only in the VPN movement, but also in Slovakia's political representatives as a whole. We are not willing to reduce ourselves to such a method of resolving problems because this would mean abandoning the principles of morality and civilized political behavior that we began to assert in November 1989.

We continue to stand by the principles contained in our election program "A Chance for Slovakia" just as the group acknowledging the "For a Democratic Slovakia" platform formally stands by them. Judging by the statements they have made so far, however, they have in fact already parted from them. According to V. Meciar, we split on account of our interpretation of the national program. Our national program was outlined in "A Chance for Slovakia." It is based on the equal status of the five principles aspects of our policy. The national one is formulated as follows: The VPN is oriented toward the Slovak nation's complete self-determination. It considers Slovak statehood to be the natural and inviolable right to attain all aspects of the sovereignty of a modern European nation. It sees its embodiment in a joint democratic federation with an equally sovereign Czech state entity. It perceives the federation as a joint effort and as a mutually beneficial union of forces associated by common internal political, foreign political, economic, cultural, and other interests.... It supports the point of view that the sovereignty of each of the two national republics is original and fundamental sovereignty, while the federation's sovereignty is an assigned and delegated sovereignty.... The VPN considers it important to increase Slovakia's participation in the federation's foreign policy.

Greater independence has to be a matter of course: Slovakia has to have direct, and not only mediated, contact with the world and with civilized stimuli and streams ("A Chance for Slovakia" pages 5- 7). According to the statements made so far, however, the new platform places the national aspect above everything else. By doing so, the new platform is winning the enthusiastic agreement of nationally oriented parties and groupings whose policies support the declaration of an independent state. Until now, these parties and groupings have always limited themselves to being firmly in opposition to the VPN. Their slogan is: "Meciar and Knazko yes, VPN no."

On account of our defense of the federal arrangement and of the sovereign Slovak Republic's correct and friendly cooperation with federal and Czech bodies, representatives of the "For a Democratic Slovakia" platform have labelled us Czechoslovakists and—almost—traitors to our national interests. This platform is guided by a fuehrer principle and, instead of specific responsibility toward the democratically elected bodies, the idea prevails that the leader is answerable only to the people, and to no one else, for executing his authority. This type of responsibility is a favorite, but demagogic, slogan; it is a limitless and uncontrollable responsibility that defies the principles of parliamentary democracy. Another fundamental difference lies in our approaches toward the economy.

The economic reform enshrined in the government's policy statement has become a particular focal point of the dispute. The VPN unequivocally asserts radical economic reform.

In the VPN program we never concealed the fact that a temporary worsening of some citizens' and households' standard of living will be an accompanying factor of the transition to a market economy. Some industrial and agricultural enterprises will not survive the restructuring process.

A comprehensive social security net, however—which will place a curb on reducing the standard of living to below the minimum subsistence level—is an element of our economic reform.

The VPN openly acknowledges our state's federative arrangement, its single economy, and also the joint principles for economic reform from the point of view of the contents and step-by-step nature of its measures. More significant digressions from these two aspects of reform in Slovakia would threaten not only Slovakia's own economy, but also the federation's very existence.

Unfortunately, only a couple of weeks of the reform's practical implementation have gone by and already the complicated and socially palpable—however, at the same time, unavoidable—phenomena in the economy have become a pretext for casting doubts on the correctness of the entire reform. This is being done by using the "argument" that the implemented economic reform is not national enough because it does not take Slovakia's specific conditions into consideration. By his attitudes and conduct, Prime Minister Meciar—riding on a wave of such "national" policy—delayed, exacerbated, and complicated, for example, the adoption of the Federal Assembly law on extrajudicial rehabilitation.

We have to point out that the need to take the Slovak economy's specific conditions into consideration is respected at the federal and republican levels. After all, Slovak citizens are represented in the Federal Assembly, the Federal Government, and important functions. Those who constantly highlight the national aspects of the economy often only do so to conceal their own mistakes, to seek an enemy outside their own environment, and to cast doubts on the federation's contribution toward our economy's proper operation. Last, but not least, they emphasize the need for independent Slovak managerial organizations in their desire for new offices and functions. It is not by chance that the number of staff in Slovakia's central organizations has increased by more than 1,000 people.

As in the past, the entire economy has been subordinated to party and ideological points of view; therefore, it has become ineffective and nonsocial. Attempts are now being made to subject all economic phenomena to oversimplified and unilateral national points of view. Such a path will not lead toward improving the economy or the state's prosperity.

Moreover, the populistic promises made to the Slovak people that economic reform in Slovakia could be socially less painful than the nationwide concept expects are lies. On the contrary, this would mean slowing down economic reform, and it would lead to isolation from the Czech economy, to a growth in conflicts in society, to a reduction in asset formation for social, health care, and educational purposes, to a loss of confidence by foreign institutions in political and economic stability in Slovakia, and—finally—to a loss in our link with development in advanced European countries. This would be a path back toward increasing the state's role and would be a return to omnipotent strongarm policy led by "wise leaders." However, we have all experienced this variant, and we definitively rejected it in November 1989.

We are convinced that the most national economic policy is an economic policy that—in a democratic manner—leads toward economic prosperity and toward resolving Slovak citizens' economic and social problems.

We will not withdraw from our right of center position ensuing from the "A Chance for Slovakia" program and we categorically reject groundless accusations of right-wing extremism. From what the "For a Democratic Slovakia" platform has indicated so far, it is apparent that in the economy it is oriented toward a real socialism type of reform and that in politics it is oriented toward a nationally inclined ideology. This combination is known by the name "national socialism." Vladimir Meciar himself has even accepted the label of national populist without protest.

VPN Responds to New Platform Declaration

AU1203152391 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 11 Mar 91 p 1

["VPN Slovak Council Statement on the Separation of the new VPN for Democratic Slovakia platform"]

[Text] The VPN [Public Against Violence movement] Slovak Council responds to the declaration by the constituent committee of the VPN for Democratic Slovakia [ZDS] platform issued at the Vladimir Meciar meeting in Vranov nad Topolou on 9 March 1991 as follows:

—so far, the VPN for Democratic Slovakia platform is not legally delimited within or outside the framework of the VPN. It has neither a membership base nor a defined program. It only has a constituent committee and signatories who have promised to draft a program;

—by this declaration, the ZDS constituent committee continues its unconscionable manipulation of public opinion and the political campaign against the legal representatives and bodies of the movement;

—the ZDS constituent committee has placed itself outside the VPN statutes by denying the legitimacy of the properly elected Slovak Council of the VPN, and thereby also outside the entire VPN;

—it is a clear attempt to assume control of the whole VPN movement by undemocratic means, an attempt that looks like a leftist coup;

—the form and content of the declaration shows a basic misunderstanding of the philosophy of the VPN program and its political principles;

—the Slovak Council of the VPN maintains that the undemocratic means of the ZDS constituent committee and its use of the influence of government officials presents a threat in the form of the transformation of a coup attempt in the movement to a society-wide danger.

We are turning to all VPN members to ask them to stand up to this danger with all their might.

The VPN Slovak Council: Bohuslav Beno, Daniel Brezina, Martin Butora, Juraj Flamik, Slavomir Flimmel, Fedor Gal, Jozef Kucerak, Miroslav Kusy, Frantisek Kuzila, Frantisek Miklosko, Marian Minarovic, Zuzana Mistrikova, Jan Pisut, Ladislav Snopko, Ivan Stano, Marcel Stryko, Sona Szomolanyiova, Martin Simecka, Peter Tatar, Ernest Valko, Peter Zajac, Peter Benuska, Richard Szabo, Vladimir Cecetka, Lubomir Navratil, Igor Konka, Dusan Frydrych, Julius Krajcik, Anton Prokain, Martin Krajcovic, Milan Kraus, Alexander Slafkovsky, Lubor Gunis, Eva Moncolova, Marian Povraznik, Jana Randuskova, Imrich Michalovsky, Jozef Kovac, Milan Martincek, Marian Korba, Marian Kmec, Martin Hrnciar, Petr Jirasek, Belo Hefler, Michal Petro.

Gal, Flamik Interviewed on VPN Split

AU1203140691 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Mar 91 pp 1,2

["Most interesting passages" from news conference by Fedor Gal, Public Against Violence (VPN) movement chairman, and VPN Coordinating Center Chairman Juraj Flamik with unidentified reporters in Bratislava on 6 March: "A Fight for 'A Chance for Slovakia'"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Reporter] What is your opinion about the legitimacy of the new platform within the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement?

[Gal] The VPN itself must prove this legitimacy. At this moment, I am able to state that a few people have left the debate in the VPN Slovak Council, yet, despite this, it was still able to reach a quorum and it continued its discussion. I expect that a new policy statement will be presented to us in a few days.

[Reporter] Do you think that this dispute will become even more intense?

[Gal] Not so long ago, the VPN nationwide congress was held, and I did not have the feeling that it was falling apart. I still see the movement in this form; however, it must be said that a certain collision is taking place here.

[Reporter] Do you still believe in forming a certain kind of VPN umbrella organization.

[Gal] If it becomes apparent in few days that a new platform has been created within the VPN and if it presents its program, then it will be absolutely natural that communication rules will have to be worked out to define certain relations regarding the creation of all entities' capability for action on our political scene. I consider any confrontational scenario to be irresponsible, which means I still believe that a businesslike dialogue is the only way of communication.

[Reporter] Has the need to call a VPN extraordinary congress arisen now?

[Gal] Only a legitimate organization—that is, the VPN Slovak Council—can decide this. I do not exclude this possibility, however.

[Reporter] Can we compare what has happened in the VPN to what happened in the Civic Forum [OF]?

[Gal] The internal tension in the VPN differs from the similar process in the OF. Here, we have not seen part of the movement leaning more to the right. The national dimension of the VPN program has become a topic of discussion: I am not quite certain whether this topic has been fabricated or whether it crossed some other tendencies of our activists and supporters. For us, as well as for those who left the debate in the VPN Slovak Council, the "A Chance for Slovakia" election program remains our principal document.

[Reporter] How do you see the situation in the international context?

[Gal] The Slovak political scene must seem infantile and irresponsible to world experts. At the same time, I am afraid that people in Slovakia do not realize what today's game is all about, and they do not realize at what intersection of geopolitical interests Slovakia finds itself today. It is not only one small Central European country that is involved, but the stability of all of Central Europe.

[Reporter] Could you tell us your opinion about the standpoint adopted by the so-called original VPN founders?

[Gal] It is difficult to say who of us is the most original founder. We do not have to appeal to Article 255 [under which the participants in the resistance may claim a higher pension]. At this moment, the merit of any particular person in the 17 November events is not a priority. Another principle is beginning to dominate—what am I doing now and how am I doing it.

[Reporter] Do you think that, due to Vladimir Meciar's great popularity, a large part of the VPN voters will transfer to his camp?

[Gal] One can ride on a popularity wave for months. In the long run, however, you can only rely on the fact that you know what you want and that you are on a meaningful road. I am not complaining that I am not popular and that people do not like me on the television screen, I am only saying that to build this country from scratch is such a difficult task that popularity—which is very volatile—must not be a card played in this game.

[Reporter] What do you think about Vladimir Meciar's statement that without support from some people in Prague you would not have attacked him?

[Gal] I assure you that I have not attacked him. There is no single example of my attacking him. The only thing that I see as being necessary now is to make the situation clear. Demonization of Prague and the federal bodies only erodes coexistence in a common state. I go to Prague to solve specific problems only.

[Reporter] Who is going to gain the most capital from this situation within the VPN?

[Gal] Everyone. The Christian Democratic Movement will point a finger—and rightly so—and will say: look at them! The VPN will profit from this, too; that is to say, the original stream that represented the VPN will finally become more apparent and we will be able to say who is who, even if there will possibly be a smaller number of us.

[Reporter] Mr. Flamik, what was the situation surrounding the alleged concealment of the fax from Alexander Dubcek?

[Flamik] It is not true that we wanted to conceal it. During the VPN Slovak Council session a number of reactions from the districts came in. They were in one envelope, hidden in a heap of papers, and in this chaos this item did not get on the agenda on time. I feel the need to excuse myself to Alexander Dubcek, because there was no intention to conceal the fax. Vladimir Meciar knew that it had come at 1551, and he could have drawn my attention to the fact that I was supposed to read it within the framework of the agenda to avoid misinterpretation of this fact as an ill-intended act.

Minister Kucerak on Economic Reform in Slovakia

AU1203150291 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 6 Mar 91 pp 1,3

[Article by Josef Kucerak, Slovak Republic deputy prime minister responsible for economic reform: "What Are the Dangers Threatening the Economic Reform?]

[Text] The "headline" question is answered by Josef Kucerak, Slovak Republic deputy prime minister responsible for the economic reform: The content and the purpose of the economic reform are clearly defined—our concern is to create a form of market economy based on democratic principles. The practical implementation of the reform, however, quite naturally, keeps stumbling against certain problems. Doubts enter into the minds of many of us whether the road on which we have set off does not lead to chaos, to a disintegration of society, to an unexpected dearth of control.

These doubts lead to attempts to protect precisely those elements that completely defy the market economy. An example is the pressures by some political groups or trade unions on the government to give accurate instructions as to where and when new enterprises are to be established, into which the employees will be transferred from the enterprises that are to be closed, to set the limit the prices may reach, to reassess the consequences the economic reform has on individual household categories, and to set a social tolerability limit—they are nothing else but a tendency to maintain a disproportional power of the state, a power that would curb civic and economic freedoms. The mistrust of the privatization process, be it big or small privatization, also reflects the inclination toward the preservation and extension of the existence of the so-called socialist ownership, which has been and still is incompatible with principles of a democratic society.

The leaning toward the return, or the maintenance of the socialist characteristics in our economy, is also supported indirectly (but perhaps intentionally) by the opposition forces, which accuse the economic reform of lacking in social elements while refusing to see a prosperous economy as a source of social security and demanding some kind of charity and planning on the part of the state.

The internal doubts whether this is the right way might be eliminated by learning from experiences of those countries that underwent a development that combined democratic principles with a market economy. These experiences are embodied in the natural spontaneity of people living in countries in which the state has only the function of a coordinator of activities within the framework of democratically agreed-upon rules.

When implementing the economic reform in Slovakia, we expect a close cooperation with the federal and Czech Governments. Our point of departure is the common scenario of the economic reform adopted by the federal government last year and ratified by the Federal Assembly. We are well aware that the conception of a transfer to the market economy must involve four basic steps: creation of a macroeconomic balance (above all by means of a restrictive financial and credit policy), price liberalization, internal convertibility, and denationalization and privatization. These steps are interrelated and interdependent. Underestimating or sacrificing any of them would mean devaluation of the others, and thereby also the failure of the transfer to the market economy.

Another problem we face, and will have to deal with, is the national context of the economic reform.

Under the communist regime, the task of an accelerated development of Slovakia with the goal of matching the economic and living standards was adopted and realized. At first glance, i.e., from the quantitative point of view, this task had been realized with a relative success. Should we, however, assess the economic development from a qualitative point of view, the situation looks much worse. The greater part of the Slovak economic basis was formed under the conditions of a totalitarian centrally planned economy that substituted subjectivism for market stimulation. A large portion of the armament industry and of the raw material processing was situated in Slovakia purely for strategic reasons—to be closer to the Soviet Union. The result is an economic structure that does not correspond to the natural, geographic, and historical conditions. This structure does not have a sufficient supply of its own resources, and therefore it cannot adjust to more demanding criteria of the market.

Nevertheless, whatever the specific features of the Slovak economy may be, the content and the purpose of the economic reform can be only one—and it does not have a national basis.

The principles of economic freedoms, private ownership, price liberalization, and convertibility of currency, which are all included in our reform program, are not based on national, but on civic and human rights. Hence, to look for some economic reform on a national basis would be futile, for that means to search for the nonexistent. Furthermore, precisely because a national basis of the economic reform does not exist, the ever-proliferating "national" alternatives of the economic reform either have populist intentions or express adventuresome endeavors to form an isolated Slovak economy. It would no longer be important whether it is a market economy; it suffices that it is our, Slovak economy.

Of course, one has to sequester from the content of the economic reform the actual operation of the economy, individual economic tools, and the methods of their use.

It is precisely on this level that one can and should seek their own paths, criteria, and tools for the implementation of the economic reform in Slovakia, without casting any doubts on the basic goals of the economic reform in the framework of the whole federation.

Thus, the issue in question is not the different opinions on the content of the basic systemic reform steps but rather the different views on the institutional and material securing of the reform and the consequent operation of the economy. Hence, the point here is the republics' sharing of power in the federation. It is necessary to deal with these issues particularly because the republics will do business on their own, and the economies involved are marked by some substantial differences. This implies that in the management of these economies, specific tools must be used, or at least the common tools must be employed to a different extent and intensity. An excessive federal centralization might render this need impossible. These facts led us to the initiation of changes in the sphere of jurisdictions.

Understanding the past, learning and realizing that the shortcomings and weaknesses of the Slovak economy are a consequence of the systemic side of the administration of the society and of the economy in the past years and not a result of the Czech nation's deciding on the development of the Slovak economy cannot lead to simplified accusations directed at everything that comes from Bohemia, or from Prague for that matter. It is particularly valid today, when democratically elected representatives from Slovakia take part in decisions on the federation level.

The unconstructive criticism of everything federal or Czech is dangerous not only because it evokes nationalist passions and intolerance but also because it distracts attention from the need for a radical economic reform. Such opinions and stands attempt to persuade the public that all we need to do to solve our economic problems is to separate ourselves from the Czech reform, from Prague, and unite on the premise that we all are Slovaks. However, the approach to the economic reform based on a national, Slovak unification leads to an impasse—it would, sooner or later, lead to a polarization of stands on other than national principles.

Another problem in the implementation of the economic reform are populist tendencies. The Public Against Violence movement entered the elections with a clear program that included an effort to form the market economy. We have never kept it secret that the path will not be easy. The correction of past deformations will require many sacrifices. Among them are the current increase in prices and living expenditures, unemployment as a new social economic phenomenon, and the loss of prospects in many enterprises. Trying to dissociate oneself from these problems would mean an escape from our program and from the road we entered upon, and which we consider to be the only way out of the crisis typical for all socialist economies.

Unfortunately, this case is not an exception to the trend, and one can observe a certain hesitation on the part of our coalition partners who are trying to explain current social sacrifices to citizens as consequences of a faulty scenario of the economic reform and speak up on behalf of a certain variant of the reform, in which there are no sacrifices, only development. Perhaps it is a certain attempt to avoid the responsibility for the most painful segments of the transfer to the market economy, and thus place all the blame on the Public Against Violence movement.

At the same time, the conflicts and problems surrounding the reform prove that a true qualitative change of economic system is involved, and such a change cannot be either easy or conflict-free, because that would necessarily mean that no qualitative change is taking place. It would mean that the momentum continues for a development free of prospects, that problems are not dealt with but postponed, and that in the future, when one can no longer avoid dealing with the problems, it will be much harder and filled with conflicts even more than in the present. The thing is—there are no simple and difficult solutions—only solutions and pseudo-solutions.

It is not easy to consistently adhere to one's political and economic principles, particularly at this time so full of controversies and negative social consequences. Of course, the fundamental, nonpopulist stands, stemming from certain civic attitudes toward politics, democracy, operation of the economy, do not lead to an idyllic social consensus, to a general agreement, and perhaps not even to obtaining a decisive majority. But fundamental stands will bring us more, even if we do not persuade everybody. However, in a democracy, if someone wants to gain everything and unite everybody, is he really interested in democracy?

Italian Prime Minister Arrives in Prague

LD1303094991 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0930 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti arrived in Prague today on a two-day official visit to Czechoslovakia. The visit is taking place at the invitation of the federal President Marian Calfa. Giulio Andreotti is the first Italian prime minister in the history of Czechoslovak-Italian relations to visit Czechoslovakia.

Holds Talks With Meciar

LD1203133391 Prague CTK in English 2146 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Rome March 11 (CTK Correspondent)—Cooperation between Italian and Czechoslovak firms and Italian Government aid to Czechoslovakia were discussed between Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti and his Slovak counterpart Vladimir Meciar here today. Meciar, on a four-day visit here since Sunday, said the talks dealt also with the crisis of the federal systems of formerly Stalinist European states and ways of its solution, as well as the interests of smaller states in the process of all-European integration.

Meciar said that while discussing East-West relations with his Italian colleague he had voiced the idea that the European "twelve" might close itself to the realities of the East. He said he had pointed out that this problem cannot be seen only as a question of aid but mainly as a question of trade investments and expansion of business activities to the benefit of both sides.

Chance of E. Europeans in EC by 2000 Noted

PM1203095191 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 7 Mar 91 p 7

[Michael Kuttner report: "Denmark Says 'Yes' to Eastern Europe in the EC"]

[Excerpt] Prague—Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary could perhaps become members of the EC before the year 2000, [Danish] Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen (Liberal) said in Prague yesterday.

Ellemann-Jensen laid down the condition that economic developments in the three countries must proceed as they should. "It will be difficult," he said, "but it is not impossible. Just look at what has happened in Eastern Europe in the last two years."

The foreign minister announced Denmark's support at a meeting with his Czechoslovak counterpart, Jiri Dienstbier, who urged that his country be linked more closely to NATO to fill the security vacuum left by the collapse of the Warsaw Pact.

"We understand Czechoslovakia's concern," said Ellemann-Jensen, who is on a two-day official visit. "But in NATO there is a reluctance to do anything that the Soviet Union would interpret as an expansion of NATO's sphere of interest."

The foreign minister thinks instead that the future structure of security should be built up around the EC, for example. "In the EC at present a major expansion of foreign and security policy cooperation is taking place. And herein lie the seeds of the solution to Czechoslovakia's problem."

Uffe Ellemann-Jensen also had an opportunity to revive old memories with former Communist Party leader Alexander Dubcek, who in the summer of 1968 had to watch his dream of "socialism with a human face" be crushed under Soviet tanks. Ellemann-Jensen was then a journalist, and a few months after the invasion he interviewed Dubcek somewhere in Prague.

Today Dubcek, who is now 70, is president of the country's parliament and was in fine form when he received the Danish foreign minister at his offices in a tropical heat wave. "I am happy about my new job," Alexander Dubcek later told BERLINGSKE TIDENDE. "It is after all about giving our people independence, about trying to create a place for Czechoslovakia in Europe. But things are more difficult than in 1968. We have taken over a burdensome legacy—economic, social, and moral." [passage omitted]

EC Official Visits; Talks Held on New Agreement

AU1203125991 Prague CTK in English 1729 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 10 (CTK)—A new agreement between the EC and Czechoslovakia, which is being prepared now, will exceed the framework of the originally planned association agreement which the EC has concluded also with other countries, Vice President of the Commission of the European Communities Frans Andriessen told a press conference held here today at the end of his three-day visit to Czechoslovakia.

He called the new agreement the "European" and pointed out that it will become a basis for specific relations between the EC and Czechoslovakia. It must not be forgotten that the creation of a free trade zone between the EC and Czechoslovakia, despite the fact that the country has started transition to a market economy, is an enormously complicated process. If it is introduced already this year it will be of great significance for Czechoslovakia.

The EC will try to help Czechoslovakia in solving its export problems which emerged in consequence of the radical reduction of trade with the Soviet Union. Commenting on Czechoslovak products' ability to compete he said that many of them would be interesting for the West European markets, adding that there is no need to be only west-oriented and forget the possibilities of the Soviet market.

The current Czechoslovak tariff structure, especially the 20- percent extra tax, does not correspond with the spirit of the free exchange of trade. Nevertheless the EC understands the necessity to partially protect the domestic economy.

Czechoslovakia will be granted an aid worth 100 million European currency units (131 million dollars) this year which will be used above all for privatization projects and restructuring the economy.

After the press conference Frans Andriessen left for Sofia, Bulgaria.

Reportage on Dienstbier's Visit to Iran

WA1103202691 txt
For reportage on the 8-10 March visit to Iran by Jiri Dienstbier, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, including his meetings with Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Industries Minister Mohammad Reza Ne'matzadeh, Majles Speaker Mehdi Karrubi, and Defense Minister Akbar Torkah, see the Iran section of the 12 March Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Klaus Charged With 'Political Vulgarity'

AU1203124891

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 5 March on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,500-word article by

Milan Zeleny, Czech-born economist teaching at Fordham University, New York, entitled "Through Liberalization Against Monopolies?" In the article, Zeleny reacts to Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus' interview, in which he defended the introduction of the liberalization of prices prior to demonopolization with the argument that "liberalization is the greatest impulse for demonopolization." Zeleny calls Klaus' statement "shocking" and "one of the most absurd mysteries of economic science." It shows, in his opinion, that "those currently in control in the CSFR are fully determined to distort theory, practice, economic common sense, and economic experience" to avoid having to admit their own mistakes. Zeleny is convinced that "no minister of finance anywhere would be able to survive" such a statement and that "no student of economics at any U.S. university would survive even his freshman year if he displayed a similar level of knowledge."

Zeleny argues that price liberalization in an economy that is dominated by monopolies is bound to reinforce these monopolies because it "legalizes their 'game' of limiting supply while increasing prices." To support his argument, he quotes various standard economic texts on the behavior of monopolies.

Zeleny also takes issue with Klaus' statement, made in the same interview, about the central bodies facing an "enormous task" in "trimming overemployment" by abolishing inefficient types of production. In Zeleny's opinion, Klaus betrayed here that he is not a "conservative" and a "right-winger" as he likes to present himself but a "classical advocate of the state [etatista], centralist, and economic populist." The Czech-born economist charges that "the CSFR minister of finance is obviously absolutely incapable of distinguishing between short-term and long-term time economic problems. By elevating short-term errors (upsetting the proper sequence: privatization—demonopolization—liberalization) and ill-considered, hasty mechanical 'measures' to the stature of some sort of foundation stones of long-term strategy and by refusing to correct his errors and aberrations, preferring instead to mobilize the political machinery to ensure their long-term irreversibility, he places himself and his supporters on the moral periphery of respectable economic thinking and practice."

Zeleny stresses that he dissociates himself from the "centralized advocacy of the state [centralizovany etatismus], economic dilettantism, and political vulgarity" of Vaclav Klaus.

Interior Minister Complains of Lack of Powers

AU1203125391 Prague CTK in English 1829 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior Jan Langos said in his answer to an interpellation of Richard Sacher (interior minister from December 1989 to June 1990) made in the Czechoslovak parliament on February 27 that the current legislation does not enable him to fully influence the activities of all armed security corps in case of an extraordinary threat to calm and public order.

In his interpellation Sacher criticized the work of the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior.

The fact that the Czechoslovak minister of the interior does not have a real or legal possibility to influence the republic (security) bodies (i.e., of the Czech and the Slovak Republics) might lead to a certain general feeling of uncertainty and destabilization, Langos says in his answer.

The security services of the Federal Ministry of the Interior include the Federal Information Service, the Office for Foreign Contacts and Information (intelligence) and a special section watching suspected criminals. This section is only a service for police centers, e.g., at the time of the Persian Gulf crisis it monitored the movement of foreigners who might have been dangerous for the safety of the state.

Dealing with the activities of the intelligence service Langos said that its director was a political prisoner under the former communist regime for 14 years. Several days ago he was awarded a high distinction by the U.S. Congress for his activities in 1947-48 (before the communists seized power in Czechoslovakia).

Minister Langos also announced that he decided together with the Ministries of Defense and Foreign Affairs to put an end to Czechoslovakia's dependence on the Soviet intelligence system which started in 1948.

Czechs Approve Draft Laws, Appoint Commissioners

AU1103222891 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Mar 91 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "Communities Will Get Their Chance; From a Session of the Czech Republic Government"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The Czech Republic Government approved the draft law on the property of communities at its session yesterday. As Czech Finance Minister K. Spacek and Czech Interior Minister T. Sokol stated at a subsequent news conference, the draft outlines the extent and the structure of Czech Republic property that will become the property of communities. [passage omitted] On aggregate, about 25 percent of all national assets should become the property of communities.

Furthermore, the Czech Republic Government discussed a set of measures to implement its program for improving the environment. It took note of the fact that the prime minister of the Czech Republic appointed engineer Rene Pisinger government commissioner for the polluted North Bohemian coal mining area beginning 1 April 1991.

After assessing Interior Ministry proposals for material support and organizational provisions for refugees in the Czech Republic, the Czech Republic Government appointed First Deputy Interior Minister Frantisek Drbohlav as government commissioner for refugee affairs.

Furthermore, the government discussed draft laws of the Czech National Council on the insurance system and on the establishment of a Czech Office for Economic Competition.

The government adopted a stand on the draft resolution of the CSFR Government on adjusting the prices of fuels and heat for end consumers. It agreed with the prices of fuels and energy being raised in one stage, effect 1 May 1991. It noted, however, that the CSFR Government did not accept a number of fundamental objections put forward by the Czech Government. It therefore reiterated its recommendation that the compensatory allowance paid to persons who receive child benefits be raised from 140 korunas a month to 220 korunas a month per child.

Civic Movement's Prague News Briefing Reported

LD0803221691 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Excerpts] Both parts of the divided Civic Forum had their regular briefings in Prague today. Marie Fleissigova reports:

[Fleissigova] First, on the Civic Movement briefing: As we have learned, it was registered today and thus becomes a full-fledged political entity. We will know its program in a week's time, since this time the main theme of the discussion was the current political situation in Slovakia. You probably already know from today's papers the declaration on the state sovereignty of the Slovak Republic, and you may know as well what the leader of Public Against Violence, Fedor Gal, said—that it is not just Slovakia but the whole federation that is involved. [passage omitted]

Then the need to speedily complete the economic changes was discussed, which should be done in the same manner in both republics.

Another representative of the movement, Jiri Dienstbier, recalled at the briefing that racism and other forms of extremism posed the same danger as nationalism, and stressed that if we want to have a democratic state based on the rule of law, we must act in a democratic way and according to the law as well. At the same time he drew attention to the international context:

[Begin recording] [Dienstbier] Our place in Europe does not depend on whether somebody likes us or not but on what we are able to offer Europe. If we offer Europe stability, or its expansion further to the east, then we will be accepted. If we, as has already been rightly said here, Balkanize ourselves, then no one will even be interested in investing in our country or in granting us any security guarantees or concluding associaiton agreements with us. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Rynda Appointed Head of OF Parliamentary Group

AU1103222991 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Mar 91 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report in the "Briefly" column]

[Text] A Civic Movement parliamentary group within the framework of the Civic Forum [OF] Club of Deputies in the Federal Assembly was set up yesterday by Federal Assembly deputies for the OF claiming allegiance to this rising movement. A total of 25 deputies have joined the group so far. Ivan Rynda was elected chairman of the group's working presidium.

Civic Movement Elects Seven-Member Presidium

AU1203152991 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 11 Mar 91 p 2

[CTK report in the "News" column: "They Have Elected a Presidium"]

[Text] Yesterday in Prague the Civic Movement Preparatory Committee elected a Presidium composed of Jiri Dienstbier, Pavel Rychetsky, Dagmar Buresova, Milada Masatova, Ivan Rynda, Petr Kucera, and Petr Pithart. Lubor Kinst was elected the Presidium's secretary. According to information from Civic Movement Press Spokesman Vladimir Zelezny, the Preparatory Committee also elected a commission.

Baudys Elected Czech People's Party Chairman

LD0903225991 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 9 Mar 91

[Excerpt] The constituent congress of the Czech regional organization of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] is drawing to a close in Prague. Here is a report by Alexander Pycha:

[Pycha] One of the most widely discussed issues at the congress was whether the CSL should continue to be part of the Czech Government. Continued participation in the government coalition was urged, in particular by Antonin Baudys, Czech deputy prime minister and CSL member. He stressed that the Czech Government included experts who often had to rectify errors made at federal level. Baudys also opposed the introduction of a presidential system in Czechoslovakia, saying that the People's Party should become a strong unifying factor of noncommunist and nonleft forces.

Deputy Richard Sacher spoke out sharply in favor of the party leaving the government coalition. In this context, the former interior minister [Sacher] used the phrases: the Castle's nonpolitical politics, the government's nonsocial socialism, a legislature based on lobbies, and he also spoke about alleged links between high state officials and European Freemasons'lodges. In the corridor, I personally asked Deputy Sacher whether he had any proof of this. He said that Freemasons had had the run of

Prague Castle on a certain day when the Castle was closed, and that he also had lists of names.

The secret ballot for the chairman of the Czech regional organization was, in a way, an unofficial referendum on whether the People's Party should stay in the Czech Government. The ballot was won by Antonin Baudys who, in an address prior to the ballot, had described himself as a supporter of economic reform. On the other hand, there were practically no differences of opinion among the delegates on Czechoslovakia's constitutional setup. As was the case at the recent Moravian-Silesian regional congress, the delegates from Bohemia demanded a tripartite state setup. [passage omitted]

Number of Refugees in Czech Camps Increases

AU1203091691

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 8 March on page 5, under the headline "There Are More Refugees," publishes a 350-word report providing the latest data on refugees in the Czech Republic. According to the author, Vlastimil Bradac, the camp in Krasna Lipa is full with 250 refugees; there are 169 refugees in Zastavka near Brno (capacity 210); 369 in Usti nad Labem-Trmice (capacity 400); 321 in Bela pod Bezdezem (capacity 350); while the newly opened camp for 100 refugees in Stara Oleska, district Decin, is full.

Bradac quotes Josef Hudera, the Bela pod Bezdezem camp director, as saying that in the three and one-half months his camp has been open about 700 people have passed through it. Many, mostly Romanians, returned home. The Romanians still form the most populous group. The first 25 have already received refugee status. The numbers are constantly changing, according to Hudera, but "it can be estimated that there are 1,250 refugees in the camps in the Czech Republic compared with 866 at the beginning of February."

Report on Decline in Apartment Construction

AU0803140991 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 5 Mar 91 p 1

[Czech Statistical Office report: "Fewer New Apartments"]

[Text] A total of 44,612 apartments were completed in the Czech Republic last year. This was almost 20 percent less than in 1989 and almost 50 percent less than in 1980 when 80,661 apartments had been completed in the Czech Republic.

New Communist Party Registers in Slovakia

AU1203103391 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Mar 91 p 2

["(lb)"-signed report in the "Briefly From Home" column: "The Communist Party of Slovakia 91 Has Been Registered"]

[Text] On 6 March 1991 the Slovak Republic Interior Ministry registered the Communist Party of Slovakia 91 as a political party. The party will be based in Zvolen. The following people are members of the party's preparatory committee: V. Dado; J. Fejes; F. Hyksa; H. Lehoczky; and V. Nociar. T. Keckes is the party's authorized representative.

New Head of Church Umbrella Organization Elected

AU0803171491 Prague CTK in English 1958 GMT 5 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 5 (CTK)— "In our society where the process of crystallization will take another ten years Christian churches could be a model for the shaping of communities of those who are not quite the same," Josef Hromadka said here today.

Josef Hromadka was replaced today by Eugen Miko as chairman of the Ecumenical Council of Churches in Czechoslovakia for a two-year term of office.

The Ecumenical Council of Churches in Czechoslovakia discussed at its today's session also the preparations for a General Assembly of the Conference of European Churches due to be held in Prague in 1992 and the establishment of an ecumenical center in Prague which would serve both Czechoslovak and foreign churches.

USSR 'Unilaterally' Restricts Border Traffic

LD1203143391 Budapest MTI in English 1253 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 12 (MTI)—The Soviet authorities have unilaterally restricted passenger traffic over the Hungarian-Soviet border.

Lieutenant Colonel Jozsef Seres, commander of the Nyirbator District of the Hungarian Frontier Guard, said that the border crossing points of Barabas-Koszini and Tiszabecs-Vilok, which were reopened on March 1, are only passable on foot.

The Hungarian authorities are to take measures to clarify and settle the affair.

Official Views Future of Trade With USSR

LD1003230191 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Report on interview with Tamas Szabo, political state secretary for the Ministry of Finance; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] The Hungarian Democratic Forum held a consultation today on economic issues. Tamas Szabo, political state secretary for the Ministry of Finance made the following statement:

[Begin recording] The transfer to convertible accounting would have brought problems in itself. Second, the known Soviet internal political situation does not help fast consolidation, either. At the same time, the signs can be seen that are not forecasting a sudden total collapse on the Eastern market. The first credits are being opened; they make it possible for them to pay for the products we deliver to them. It was said by responsible Soviet circles—last week, in fact—that they were possibly thinking of a kind of barter construction. It is not a question of politics; rather, it is our interest, strong interest, to keep our position on the Soviet market, with one condition, that the Soviet market pays for it. [end recording]

Oil Company Signs Deal for Soviet Deliveries

LD0803152491 Budapest MTI in English 1354 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 8, 1991 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian National Oil and Gas Trust (OKGT) and Mineralimpex, the foreign trade company, concluded a contract in Moscow in the middle of the week for the delivery of 1 million tonnes of Soviet oil between March 11 and December 31.

The deal marks a departure from previous practice in that it was struck not with Soyuznyeftyexport, the traditional partner, but with the Moscow affiliate of the Ecuadorian company Totisa.

While the exact price of the oil was not disclosed, it was confirmed that it corresponded to the price of brent.

The USSR has agreed to deliver 3 million tonnes of oil to Hungary this year, enough to supply half the country's needs. In January 170,000 tonnes were supplied and 136,600 tonnes were supplied in February.

Antall Receives Walesa Letter on Visegrad Summit

LD1103095391 Budapest MTI in English 1942 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 11 (MTI)—On Monday, Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall met Maciej Kozminski, ambassador of the republic of Poland to Hungary, who presented a letter President Lech Walesa had addressed to the head of the Hungarian government.

Expressing his thanks for the successful organization of the Visegrad summit, Walesa emphasizes that although the three co-operating countries have not estblished a closed regional organization, for the time being it would be inexpedient to involve other participants. This does not exlude the possibility, however, that other states might take part in some forms of concrete co-operation. The Polish president emphasized the need to determine the possibilities for economic co-operation between the CMEA countries after that organization has been dissolved.

During their meeting, Antall and Kozminski exchanged views on some topical issues of bilateral co-operation.

Reportage on Fur's Visit to Belgium

WA1103191991

For reportage on the visit by Defense Minister Lajos Fur to Belgium, including reports on his talks with Belgian Defense Minister Guy Coeme, see the Benelux section of the 11 March West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

National Assembly Opens Session; Parties Speak

LD1203072791 Budapest MTI in English 1814 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 11 (MTI)—The Hungarian parliament started a plenary session on Monday afternoon.

Gyorgy Szabad, speaker of parliament, said he had received information with regard to Hungary's constitutional institutions being criticized outside of parliament. The speaker reminded his fellow MPs of their priority task to guarantee the constitutionality of the country's public life.

Before the agenda, Zoltan Gal, head of the parliamentary group of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) [MSZP], asked to take the floor. He described the speech that Jozsef Torgyan, head of the parliamentary group of the Independent Smallholders' Party, had delivered at a Saturday rally as one of the most extreme attacks upon the Constitution. On behalf of the Socialist group, Gal rejected Torgyan's speech in the most resolute terms.

Torgyan replied to the contribution immediately. He found it deleterious that Gal had expressed his opinion about a speech he had not even heard. Torgyan asked the Socialist MP to specify which parts of the the speech he regarded as anti-constitutional. (no answer was made to the reply.)

Ferenc Koszeg, an MP of the Alliance of Free Democrats, also took the floor before the commencement of the agenda. He reminded parliament that Gyorgy Krasso was being buried while the sitting was in session. Koszeg then eulogised the life of the leader of the Hungarian October Party.

According to the agenda approved by the MPs, the plenary session will discuss the concession bill and a bill on central subsidies for social institutions.

Draft Concessions Law Discussed

LD1203075991 Budapest MTI in English 1500 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 11, 1991 (MTI-Econews)—The Hungarian parliament opens the debate this afternoon over the draft of the concessions law tabled by the Ministry of Justice.

According to the draft, concessions agreements can be made in the following fields: national roads, railways, canals, ports, airports, the basic telecommunications network, telecommunications frequencies, electricity supply, local roads and public utilities, mining and auxiliary activities, pipeline transport, production and transport of radioactive materials, gambling, basic postal services, radio and television broadcasting, passenger and freight transport via rail, and road passenger transport according to fixed timetables.

Under the law, foreign entrepreneurs will be given the same terms in a concessions agreement as Hungarian citizens.

Some of the listed activities can be pursued in accordance with the provisions of a specific law (the mining law, telecommunications law, law on gambling, law on use of frequencies, etc.), without entering a competition and making a concessions agreement.

If an activity is linked exclusively to state property, there will be no change in ownership. Any new property created in the course of pursuing a concessions activity will become the property of the state or the local government as soon as it is put into service.

Under the law referring to a specific activity, parliament may first have to approve the concession agreement.

In each case, concessioners have to set up a business partnership with headquarters in Hungary.

During the validity of the agreement, concessioners have the title and use of exclusive state property or local government assets.

A concessioner may not sell this right, nor may he use it as a contribution to a business.

If the concession company is liquidated because of insolvency, this will mean automatic cancellation of that particular concessions agreement as well.

Under the draft, the competent minister has the authority to invite a competition and sign the concessions agreement.

In some cases, local governments will also have to be consulted before a competition is invited.

Conceding a specific activity may sometimes be decided on in a local referendum.

The draft law contains the main rules and formal elements for inviting a competition.

The minimum validity of a concessions agreement is five years, the maximum validity being 35 years.

Mining prospecting concessions are an exception: These may be granted for less than five years.

Agreements cannot be made for an indefinite period.

Only in specified cases can a concessions agreement be terminated before it expires.

Fees from concessions agreements made by the state will be listed separately, and parliament will decide about their use when discussing the state budget.

Minister Horvath on MDF, Political Struggle

AU1203154391 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Mar 91 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Balazs Horvath, former interior minister and current minister without portfolio, by Jozsef Szabo Bartha; place and date not given: "Under A Leaky Umbrella"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Bartha] You have become minister without portfolio in charge of national minority affairs. You are also the second man in the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. Many people say that Balazs Horvath is walking under the prime minister's umbrella.

[Horvath] If this is an umbrella, then it is leaking, because I have repeatedly gotten wet under it. I do not think that [Prime Minister] Jozsef Antall did something good or bad to me by making use of the power of his office or his prestige. It was the MDF Presidium, not the prime minister, that elected me as member of the Presidium and executive deputy chairman. I am a founding member of the MDF and I totally agree with its ideas, policy, and philosophy.

[Bartha] This is probably not easy, given the fact that we are talking here about a collective party....

[Horvath] There are three equally marked streams of thought within the MDF: a national liberal trend, a popular-national trend, and a Christian democratic trend. These trends are mixed not only within the party but also within the individual members themselves, including myself. [passage omitted]

[Bartha] The popularity of the current government is decreasing rapidly. An increasing number of MDF people say that this is not what they wanted.

[Horvath] We have never promised private homes and Mercedes cars for everyone after the elections. What we did say was that we all were facing a very difficult road and that we would only advance with consistent and diligent work, and this advance would be slow. We do not want to make political decisions by means of shock therapy. We are seeking a harmonious balance. Thus, one half of society considers the change in the regime to be too radical, and the other half of our society considers this to be too slow. [passage omitted]

[Bartha] In the meantime, you keep protesting, blaming, and abusing, and you regard publicity as an increasingly bitter pill.

[Horvath] The government is under unbelievable pressure. Moreover, hardly any other government in the world lacks a press service that is close to its philosophy, policy, and program, as we do. As for the aforementioned publicity pill, it increasingly transpires that this pill is not meant to cure in most of the cases.

[Bartha] Personally, how do you bear the "crossfire" of the press?

[Horvath] I defend myself against this by reading attentively. I am trying to accept the good-will or malicious advice, and I am trying to forget those articles that were only written to discredit the government and the MDF and to incite the people against them. Besides, the balance will improve soon because a new daily will appear within weeks, and this will be close to the government. [passage omitted]

New Agricultural Minister on Need To Cut Costs

AU1203153991 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Mar 91 pp 1,8

[Interview with Agriculture Minister Elemer Gergatz by Peter Czauner; place and date not given: "I Am Still Nervous"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] The agricultural sector is down. Its most important branches are struggling with overproduction following the collapse of export markets in the wake of the CEMA collapse. The new Agricultural Ministry has not yet come up with an agricultural program, and the privatization of the food industry is also advancing extremely slowly. The new agricultural minister is Elemer Gergatz, a successful 49-year-old biologist and veterinarian.

[Czauner] In what condition did you "take over" the agricultural sector?

[Gergatz] We know, or more precisely, we think we know what we want to achieve but, at the moment, in the course of party struggles, the National Assembly is trying to cut the agricultural sector to pieces to such an extent that I sometimes ask myself whether they are serious about all this.

[Czauner] But there are also other problems. Could you give us an example of an agricultural branch that works well?

[Gergatz] For example, sugar production as a whole. We have enough production to satisfy the demands of our entire population. You will also be surprised if I say that, within 60 days at most, our pig breeding branch will also operate well. [passage omitted]

[Czauner] Obviously, higher production costs and the fact that our agricultural products can only be sold on Eastern markets that are uncertain in their payments are reducing the successes of our food industry.

[Gergatz] Higher production and energy costs, as well as higher fodder costs have shaken the animal husbandry branch. I accept criticism for the relative increase in consumer prices, but Western production is even more expensive but agriculture there is supported from the production of other industrial sectors. We must do all we can to reduce costs because we can expect neither domestic nor foreign help. I am convinced that a lot of costs could be saved by a change our production structure. [passage omitted]

[Czauner] A lot of regulations needed for the restructuring of our food industry are missing, and the conclusion of the debate on compensation is also questionable. What advice can you give to the people living in villages?

[Gergatz] Why do you worry so much about the people living in villages? Peasants know exactly what they are taking upon themselves. In my opinion, the countryside is calm; naturally, there are people who are nervous.

[Czauner] I presume you would also be nervous if you could not sell your pigs.

[Gergatz] I am still nervous; however, people living from agriculture should not worry. I do not understand why people stress the agricultural problems so much when there are much more serious problems facing our economy.

People's Party Chairman on Tasks, Prospects

AU1203090991 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 2 Mar 91 p 6

[Interview with Gyula Fekete, chairman of the People's Party-National Peasants Party, by Kosa; place and date not given: "Politics Outside Parliament—I Must Think in Perspective"—first two paragraphs are MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Text] Of the 12 parties making up the national electoral list, only four made it into the National Assembly with an average of over 4 percent. Since then, the others have been advancing on various roads. This also applies to the way these parties try to make it back into political awareness.

We asked Gyula Fekete about the reasons behind the long silence surrounding the Hungarian People's Party [MNP].

[Fekete] The press is also to blame for the silence surrounding us because nothing about what we are doing is published. As an example, I can say that now when many children who are in a difficult situation are not receiving milk at all, while large quantities of milk are unsold, we have come up with a proposal to provide part of the family allowances and welfare aid in the form of supplies. Nothing about this idea was published either before the demonstrations or after them.

[Kosa] In your opinion, to what extent have recent political events justified your program and predictions?

[Fekete] On the issue of the agricultural land, the Hungarian National Assemnbly is close to the proposal we presented in the spring.

[Kosa] Do you have any opportunity to express your ideas in any phase of the legislature? What are your relations with the parties represented in the National Assembly?

[Fekete] Because we do not have any offical forum or press service, it is extremely difficult to present our views. We have not received a single cent of financial support since the elections. We have no official contacts with the parties represented in the National Assembly, but I have old friendship contacts with some leaders of the Christian Democratic Party, and I was also present at the establishment of the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

[Kosa] What is your party organization like today? Did you run in the local government elections?

[Fekete] The level of our organization is rather weak, but we will hold a general meeting on 25 March, a common meeting of eight settlements in Szolnok County. At the local government elections here, we achieved even better results than the big parties. We will run in the interim elections in the Seventh District in Budapest, together with the Pensioners' Party.

[Kosa] In your view, what are the chances of implementing your views?

[Fekete] This nation has forgotten how to decide on its own fate and is unable to make use of the opportunities of democracy. All those who are complaining today have also contributed to our bankruptcy because they applauded in the sixties when we used up the financial basis of our future. There is no other way: We must finish the school that we wanted to avoid.

[Kosa] Today, however, people are mostly interested in the daily problem of making a living. How does your party represent the people?

[Fekete] Naturally, I must represent them, but I cannot descend to this level. I must think in perspective and I must also engage in politics at such a level. I increasingly feel that my party policy is hindering my public activity. As soon as the party finds someone to replace me, I will resign from the position of party chairman.

Chief Editor of New Paper on Upcoming Publication

AU1203125291 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Mar 91 p 3

[Interview with UJ MAGYARORSZAG Chief Editor Gabor Albert by "B.J."; place and date not given: "The Newspaper of Confidence"—first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] Everyone anticipates the new Hungarian daily with great interest. Rumors have it that the new daily will be the press service of the Hungarian Government. Gabor Albert granted an interview to MAGYAR HIRLAP in which he depicted the style and guidelines of the new Hungarian daily UJ MAGYARORSZAG [NEW HUNGARY].

[Albert] We would like to publish a moderate daily focusing exclusively on 100 percent proven information, and we are determined not to participate in any party struggles. I do not think the press convenes the necessary confidence in this country today to be able to avoid the political, economic, and moral pitfalls. The basic condition for this is to discard the burden of pessimism once and for all and have confidence in ourselves. Therefore, we would like to publish a daily newspaper that does not hide the problems but does not seek them either.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Who will make up your staff?

[Albert] At the moment, I cannot yet tell you about the composition of the editorial staff, but it is certain that freedom of opinion will be determining factor for the new daily. UJ MAGYARORSZAG will not be a government daily, but it is not a secret that we look upon the views and activity of our government with confidence. I think that the current Hungarian press is too monotonal, radiates pessimism, and does not convey enough faith to the readers.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] When will we see the first issue on the streets?

[Albert] We will appear with a sample issue on 15 March, and we expect to commence regular publication sometime in April. The daily will provide 12 pages of material for its readers and will have a format similar to that of MAGYAR NEMZET.

Business Paper Cited on Hard Currency Reserves

LD1203104591 Budapest MTI in English 0940 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 12 (MTI)—"The hard currency reserves at the National Bank of Hungary (NBH) [MNB] had increased to over $1 billion by the end of last year, while in 1989 and until the autumn of 1990 the figure seldom reached the 1 billion mark," the Budapest business daily "VILAGGAZDASAG" reports on Tuesday.

Experts say that for an economy to operate safely, operative reserves sufficient to cover three or four months of imports are necessary, as the inflow of export incomes and the emergence of import commitments might not coincide in time. The import-export ratio in Hungary this year is $9-10 billion to $10-11 billion.

According to the newspaper, NBH's current hard currency reserves amount to $1.8 billion, because the taking up of new loans from the IMF and the EC have been scheduled, in consideration of the economic uncertainties at home and abroad, so as the bank's positions be consolidated in the beginning of the year. As a result, reserves have increased by around $700 million over the past three months, but bankers believe the sum required for smooth economic operations would be a minimum of $2 billion.

"It is becoming increasingly clear that Hungary's 1991 balance of payments will overwhelmingly depend on the success in finding a remedy for the collapse of Soviet-Hungarian trade," Tuesday's "VILAGGAZDASAG" says.

Kolodziejczyk Comments on Talks With Moiseyev

LD1203172891 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Interview with National Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk by unidentified reporter on 12 March; place not given—recorded]

[Text] General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff, who has been in Poland since yesterday, was holding talks in the Ministry of National Defense this morning. This is what Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk had to say:

[Kolodziejczyk] During today's meeting we were talking about bilateral contacts. The talks will be continued next week at the expert level.

[Reporter] Referring to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland and their transit, has the Soviet side given up the plan to use the overland route?

[Kolodziejczyk] It is unclear. Not the overland route, because I am sure they will want to use rail routes, but they want to give up road transport, which is probably in keeping with our expectations, not only of the military staff, but also of the citizens in our country. All this is pleasing, and I stress once again that this was not the main subject of our talks, that the Soviet side's stand has become flexible. Our Soviet guests indicated their great difficulties, great problems, beginning with housing, barracks [word indistinct] structures. We treat all this with full understanding, but we are stressing that we have our own problems, including housing.

Parys on 'Difficult' Soviet Troop Pullout Talks

AU1203131291 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Mar 91 pp 1,7

[Interview with Jan Parys, head of group negotiating the economic aspects of the Soviet Army transit through Poland, by Marek Majle; place and date not given: "We Are Not Out To Make a Quick Profit"]

[Text] [Majle] Lately, some in the FRG and the Soviet Union have been accusing the Polish side of dragging out negotiations on the transit of Soviet Army troops through Polish territory. What do you say?

[Parys] Right at the outset, I would like to say that the two parties, namely, Germany and the Soviet Union, agreed between themselves on the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in the former GDR. Neither side bothered to notify Poland, although it was absolutely clear that any such arrangement would of necessity have to involve Poland. This was a major omission on their part. Poland is not dragging out negotiations, but is negotiating the specific terms the troop transit will be subject to. There are countless details to be finalized, details that the other two parties have simply chosen to ignore or have neglected. Poland has the right to require, for example: that the transit take place according to the rules of the Polish highway code; that the vehicles used are fully insured; that the routes are agreed and clearly marked; that convoys are numbered; that the total number of vehicles in convoys is agreed—in a nutshell, there are numerous technical details. Over 10,000 trains and several hundred thousand heavy trucks will be involved. It cannot be a haphazard affair. Our position in this matter is well known and is favorable. Contrary to what the foreign press has been saying, we shall charge the normal applicable international charges for this transit. Our position on this is firm.

[Majle] What is the estimate of costs?

[Parys] This will depend on the number of transports that pass through Poland. In the last round of negotiations held on 12-13 February 1991 in Warsaw, the Soviet team could not give us any figures because no rail freight agreement had yet been signed. Now that round is behind us, and it is known that approximately 85 percent of the transit will take place by rail. The Soviet generals should now be in a position to calculate their costs and their requirements. We know that the Soviet side will have difficulties with payment, and we anticipate that installments will be delayed. This could impact on the transit timetable. In turn, this could lead to political tension between the FRG and Poland. We would like to avoid this, and we have suggested that payment clauses from the agreement signed between Poland and the USSR should be removed and included in a collateral agreement signed by all three parties. We would like the German Government—which has committed itself to paying the transit costs up to the Polish-Soviet border—to nominate one of the German banks to service the costs of the operation. Poland could then present monthly bills for the number of actual transports for that month, and, after endorsement by the appropriate Soviet authorities, the bill could then be forwarded to the German bank handling the matter.

[Majle] What was the German and Soviet reaction to this proposal?

[Parys] We had already been talking informally on this point with the Germans, and their initial reaction was favorable. The Germans want no hitches, and on this point we have an identical position. The Soviet side does not know about the proposal yet. These are our latest moves. Our first suggestion was that the Soviet Union should deposit a downpayment guarantee of $500 million with us to cover costs, but this proved to be unrealistic.

[Majle] Your second sphere of involvement is the negotiation of terms of the stationing and subsequent withdrawal of Soviet troops currently in Poland. The positions of the two sides on this issue seem to be very divergent.

[Parys] These are proving to be difficult negotiations. They are made more difficult by the deterioration of the political climate in the USSR. We are still not convinced that the Soviet side has the political will to want a quick resolution of this matter. The whole matter is complicated by conflicting interest groups and people. An example would be the aggressive comments of General Dubynin, Commander of the Soviet Army Northern Group. Various groups in Moscow see the issue of withdrawal as a political tool they can use in the political game. At present, the situation is as follows: We are negotiating on three levels; namely, there are the political, the economic, and the legal working groups. For the Soviet side, the most important at the moment is the economic group.

We are concentrating on the following matters: Polish property that has been used by the Soviet troops, that is to say, everything they rented from us. This comes to over 3,000 buildings and other facilities. These buildings are now old and in a poor state of repair. We have to calculate how much it will cost to repair them. The 1956 Polish-USSR agreement on the temporary stationing of Soviet troops in Poland stipulates that these buildings must be handed back to the Polish side in good condition. We have to estimate the extent of damage and the cost of repair. These costs have to be met by the Soviet Union. Another aspect concerns the buildings that were constructed by the Soviet side. According to the treaty, we only need to take these buildings over where we think they would be useful to us. In such cases we shall have to calculate their value and these sums will be included in the total equation. Those buildings that we decline to take over must be dismantled at Soviet expense and the surrounding area restored to its original state. Any salvage materials from this operation belong to the Soviet side. Another matter is to secure periodic payments due from the Soviet side for the period beginning 1 January 1991 for transport services rendered and their use of our forestry and agriculture. These are payments that have not been paid before. We must also negotiate the loss to Poland for the non-use of agricultural and forestry land that has been out of normal commercial circulation for the last 40 years. We intend to secure full compensation.

[Majle] Has there been any shift in the Soviet position recently?

[Parys] Initially, the Soviet Union showed no great desire to fix a date for the withdrawal of its forces. If this became inevitable, they first wanted to sell off all the buildings they had constructed. They were even thinking of selling to foreign companies. This was quite unacceptable to us. We tried to explain to the Soviet side that such agreements would be void under Polish law, because in Poland an object erected on land belongs to the landowner. Regarding securing periodic payments, the 1956 treaty stipulates that the Soviet Army is as liable to pay for facilities as the Polish Army. Nevertheless, units of the Soviet Army are not part of the Polish Army, and we have the right to charge higher payments from the Soviet Army. We have estimated our losses and the sums are substantial. The Polish Government is presenting bills on the basis of the agreement that followed the Mazowiecki-Ryzhkov talks last year. Changes in the Soviet position take place very slowly. They have finally proposed a date for the withdrawal of troops. This date is not acceptable to us, but nonetheless, it is a date. I do not want to say anything on the complicated situation in Moscow, but it is a fact that the Soviet delegation's powers are very limited indeed. The smallest textual alterations have to be referred back to Moscow, and so another month passes before we can get around the negotiating table again. The next round of negotiations is scheduled to take place in Moscow on 14-15 March 1991.

USSR's Moiseyev Comments on Talks

LD1203184291 Warsaw PAP in English 1823 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 12—"I think that the date for completing the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland will be fixed during a meeting between President Lech Walesa and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev," the Soviet army chief of staff, General Mikhail Moiseyev said after his talks at the Ministry of National Defence here and added that the task of diplomats and military experts was to set flexible dates which would fit both sides.

Moiseyev told reporters that USSR would not use road transport for the withdrawal of its troops from Germany and the Soviet units would make their exit by sea and to some extent by rail. Referring to the decision of the USSR to withdraw from Legnica, western Poland, within the next six months of the Soviet command of the so called "Western theater", comprising the units stationed in east Germany, Poland's Minister of National Defence Piotr Kolodziejczyk said it was a step of major political importance. Housing problems and the lack of social infrastructure for returning soldiers are the main obstacle in the prompt withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland, Kolodziejczyk said.

Talks in Poland concerned also bilateral military cooperation, European security system that Poland is going to build through bilateral contacts.

General Moiseyev met also with Minister of State in the President's Office Jacek Merkel and with the head of the Council of Ministers, Minister Krzysztof Zabinski. "There are chances that some 10,000 Soviet soldiers could leave Poland between April and May," Zabinski said and added that final decisions will be made during the fifth round of talks to be held in Moscow on March 19.

The Soviet side said no chemical weapon was deployed on the territory of Poland and after the talks it seems that on-site inspections could be held which would confirm good intensions of the USSR in this field, Zabinski said.

Skubiszewski on Relations With FRG, USSR

LD1203163991 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1500 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Statement by Foreign Minister Skubiszewski to the Council of Ministers in Warsaw; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The Council of Ministers' meeting began with information from Prime Minister Bielecki on the results of his trip to the FRG. Next, [Foreign] Minister Skubiszewski presented a concept for Polish foreign policy this year.

[Skubiszewski] I assume that eastern policy will perhaps become the main area of our policy regarding relations with states lying closest to us. This also relates to Germany. Relations with our two great neighbors occupy a very important place within this program, which I presented at the government meeting today, but I also assume that there will be more movement in eastern policy and that it will occupy more of our time, simply because relations with Germany have already been stabilized, and will, before long, become even more established through the treaty that we are negotiating, the writing of which is very far-advanced. Regarding the USSR, we will continue the two-track policy that I have spoken about—relations with the USSR as a whole and relations with the republics, which want to have a voice in international affairs and are particularly interested in relations with their neighbor—such a large neighbor—Poland.

[Announcer] Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz presented to the Council of Ministers a letter of intent to the IMF and a memorandum of 1991-1993 that defines the principles of Poland's economic policy for this period. Minister Balcerowicz is to inform journalists of the details during a press conference planned for tomorrow. The Council of Ministers' meeting is continuing. Still on the agenda are such questions as the government's information policy and a discussion on the reprivatization of assets appropriated by the state in the 1940s and 1950s.

Foreign Policy Outlined Further

LD1203223191 Warsaw PAP in English 2045 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 12—At its meeting here today, the Council of Ministers approved main concepts of Poland's foreign policy this year to be presented by Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski in his expose, probably in April.

The minister announced that Poland would continue her foreign policy and stressed that although Europe was given a priority in this respect this did not mean that other regions would be discriminated.

"I would like to see a new Polish-Soviet treaty reached as we need it very badly in our relations with the USSR. The alliance from the previous epoch is no longer suitable", Minister Skubiszewski said.

Other targets include:

—Intensification of relations with the U.S. Following the visit to the U.S. by President Lech Walesa,

—Good relations with France and Italy based on treaties (a treaty with France is ready to be signed),

—Opening to the Far East, particularly as concerns economic matters,

—Development of cooperation with Latin American countries, members of the "Group of Rio",

—More intensive cooperation with security organization of Western world such as NATO and the Western European Union,

—Closer regional cooperation,

—Strivings for Poland's membership, still this year, in the Pentagonale group (where Poland and Italy would play a stabilizing role).

Skubiszewski said that although Poland is looking forward to establishing ties with organizations operating in Western Europe, a small, mainly advisory, body should be set up in place of Comecon.

ROAD Aproves Sejm Dissolution Decision

LD1003202791 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Excerpt] The Supreme Council of the Citizens' Movement for Democratic Action [ROAD] has recognized the decision of the Sejm on self-dissolution as a correct one. A statement by the ROAD Supreme Council reads: We observe with unease the seeking by the Center Accord to destabilize the state and its institutions through attacks on the Sejm, undermining the dignity of Parliament, and the attempts to enforce a date for the elections without reference to the demands of the law, democracy, and common sense. The ROAD Supreme Council resolutely states that the attempts to exploit the in many cases justified social dissatisfaction for extra-constitutinal activity are directed against the interests of Poland, concludes the statement. [passage ommited]

Presidential Spokesman on Sejm Election Decision

LD1103123791 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Interview with Presidential Press Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] The Center Accord and the Citizens' Committees issued statesments, on Saturday and Sunday respectively, condemning the decision of the Sejm on an autumn date for the elections. The Citizens' Committees even used the words disgrace and treachery, and demanded that deputies relinquish their mandates. We have asked representatives of the president's office, the government and several political groups for their views on the election date and these statements.

[Reporter] What is the attitude of the president of the Republic on the decision of the Parliament?

[Drzycimski] Calm, because it is a natural that the president, as someone elected by the nation in a general election, is a person who sees things from a different perspective than the Sejm, which was elected within the arrangement of the roundtable, a contractual arangement. It is as if it is a broader sphere of responsibility. We could even say more intense because all kinds of changes are being carried out and have to be implemented. That is why, as a person who is aware of the necessity of these changes, he knows there are going to be various kinds of hurdles or differences of opinion on this path, and they should be taken into consideration normally as in every democratic system. It should be treated like that, as a normal thing, which also happens in Poland.

President Walesa Will Not Dissolve Sejm

LD1303050591 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] In an interview granted to the third program of Polish Radio, President Lech Walesa said that he would not dissolve the Parliament. I do not want to break the law, he stated, irrespective of what we think about the Sejm, as we have to remember that it is based on an agreement. The president added that a four-month delay was not a problem.

When asked if he took offense at the Parliament, the president asnwered that he was only offended at the ethics of certain deputies. On the other hand, the Parliament's decision is something quite different from a question of the behavior of individual deputies. We must respect the Parliament, because it is the Polish Parliament, the president said.

Walesa Distances Position From Center Accord

LD1303091791 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Today's newspapers publish excerpts from the interview granted by President Lech Walesa yesterday to the third program of Polish radio. Talking about Jaroslaw Kaczynski's proposal to dissolve the Sejm, the president emphasizes that he is not going to do that this time. He recalls that he earlier proposed an autumn date for the elections. This was connected with the idea of a political council. I do not want to break the law, Lech Walesa emphasizes. Regardless of what we think of the Sejm, we must remember it is a Polish Sejm and that four months are not a problem.

Referring to the resolution of the Center Accord challenging a fight over free elections, the president states: Everyone has the right to his views and can manifest them within the law. I do not think things will move in the direction of street battles, although I cannot speak for the Center Accord, as I am not a member of it, and I have nothing to find there. If demonstrations are going to destabilize the country, I will fight them.

Jaruzelski Comments on Talks With Walesa

LD1203234991 Warsaw PAP in English 1726 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 12—Polish President Lech Walesa met Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski today to hold talks that lasted about an hour and a half.

After the talks, Jaruzelski told journalists he was not authorized to disclose the details of the talks. He said anyway that the conversation had covered a broad range of issues, including Poland's domestic, economic and political situation and the international one. "This was a free and sincere exchange of opinions and I think that both sides understood each other and found these talks useful. When we saw each other last time (shortly after Lech Walesa's assumption of presidency). We decided to meet whenever the need for this arose and I think that such a need arose on both sides," Jaruzelski said.

Jaruzelski did not want to comment on the Sejm latest decision to hold parliamentary elections the coming autumn. He referred to a statement by the president's spokesman who said Lech Walesa had responded calmly to the Sejm decision. "This is perhaps proper interpretation to which I fully agree," Jaruzelski said.

The general also refused to comment on Lech Walesa's hitherto performance as president and said only that the very fact that he (Jaruzelski) was invited to the Belweder Palace and had a possibility to have lengthy talks with President Walesa showed how seriously he treated both the office and the person of the president.

The president's press office said today that "sincere and free exchange of thoughts between both interlocutors is to be continued during the next meetings."

Walesa Appoints Lech Kaczynski Minister of State

LD1203223391 Warsaw PAP in English 1540 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 12—Polish President Lech Walesa recalled Jacek Merkel from the post of minister of state today. In place of Merkel the president appointed Lech Kaczynski as minister of state.

Sejm Appoints Acting Head of Board of Control

LD0703183891 Warsaw PAP in English 1734 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 7—During today's meeting of the Sejm (lower house), its speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz announced that on March 4 he appointed Bogdan Lysak, deputy chairman of the Supreme Board of Control (NIK), acting head of this organization.

Making this announcement Kozakiewicz recalled that the the to-date chairman of NIK Tadeusz Hupalowski had resigned from the post while the Senate had rejected the candidature of deputy Wieslawa Ziolkowska, approved by the Sejm.

Kozakiewicz also informed the deputies that the enlarged Sejm Presidium voiced an opinion that the election of new NIK chairman should be conducted urgently. He also said that the Sejm Presidum will shortly present a proposal of principles for putting forward candidatures for the chairmanship of the Supreme Board of Control.

Bielecki Receives European Bank President

LD1203095691 Warsaw PAP in English 2003 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—The decision of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) to start its operation in Poland will help the process of privatization and contribute towards the development of the private sector in Poland, Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki said after his meeting with Jacques Attali, the bank's president. The bank is planning to open its offices in Poland in May.

Financial cooperation with the bank will help Poland achieve her main goal, namely to construct a strong and healthy economy and then the integration with the European Communities will be easier to achieve, the prime minister added.

Attali said that the role of the bank would be to help Poland's integration with Europe and to support the development of small industry, ecological projects and telecommunication. While assessing political and economic changes in Poland, Attali termed them as fast, firm and well-oriented.

Bielecki, Japanese Prime Minister Confer on Debt

LD0803221191 Warsaw PAP in English 1956 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 8—Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki today discussed in a telephone conversation with the prime minister of Japan Toshiki Kaifu problems connected with Polish-Japanese economic cooperation and reduction of the Polish debts, the government press spokesman has announced.

Prime Minister Bielecki presented the fundamental assumptions of Polish economic policy. The Japanese prime minister on his part stressed the boldness of reforms implemented in Poland and announced technical assistance to Poland as well as a support for the Polish offer addressed to the business circles of Japan.

Toshiki Kaifu also referred to a letter from the Polish president in which Lech Walesa asked for a reduction of debt in the part of government credits, and stated that Japan was making efforts towards an agreement of the international community on the matter.

Central Bank Chief Interviewed on Policy

AU0803154691 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (Economy and Law Supplement) in Polish 5 Mar 91 pp I, IV

[Interview with Grzegorz Wojtowicz, president of the Polish National Bank, by Piotr Aleksandrowicz; place and date not given: "Looking for Allies"]

[Text] [Aleksandrowicz] The president of the Polish National Bank is one of the signatories of the letter of intent. What significance does the agreement with the IMF—that is, once it is finally concluded—have for the Polish National Bank?

[Wojtowicz] The agreement with the IMF signifies acceptance of the principles of our economic policy. From the viewpoint of the central bank, there are three issues that are particularly important: the attainment of an interest rate that is above the rate of inflation; exchange rate stability; and adjusting the supply of credit to bring it into line with the economic situation.

[Aleksandrowicz] What commitments can we expect the Polish side to enter into? What implementation criteria will the program contain?

[Wojtowicz] We can expect the following to be covered: the scale of credit operations; a permissible level for the state budget deficit; changes to hard currency reserves; and an increase in the foreign debt.

[Aleksandrowicz] Will the auxiliary criteria cover such things as the level of inflation, the population's real income, and nominal income? If that is so, what can the Polish National Bank do to help?

[Wojtowicz] As far as inflation and incomes are concerned, being a "firefighter," the central bank cannot pour the proverbial oil onto the flames. Thus, monetary policy has to be cautious and rational, especially in view of the projected 36-percent increase in prices over the year. This also applies to incomes, although indicators regarding this point are still to be fixed.

[Aleksandrowicz] So, let us talk about some concrete issues. Over the past few years, although monetary policy had already gained in importance, it was only possible to attain the objectives of monetary policy during the first few months of last year. However, it is generally not possible to control the money supply. Why not? What are the causes of these weaknesses on the part of the Polish National Bank, which is responsible for monetary policy?

[Wojtowicz] Monetary policy is a consequence of the principles that are adopted in relation to incomes policy and the budget. In this respect, what matters above all is the scale of credit operations and, within the framework of general credit operations, the scale of preferential loans for agriculture, housing construction, and national level investment.

Interest rates should serve as the basic instrument for regulating the provision of loans. This is perfectly clear in a market economy. However, we still do not have a market economy. So, we still cannot introduce complete freedom in the credit field. On the contrary, we have to see to it that there is no excess liquidity in the banking system. It is the central bank that is responsible for the general state of liquidity.

There are a number of very difficult tasks that have to be accomplished in connection with this. Apart from setting interest rates, it involves determining reserve asset ratios, imposing limits on discounting, and money market operations. This latter aspect is still in its infancy, although we aim to expand the issue of Polish National Bank bonds, which should yield results in the near future.

Nevertheless, as practice has shown, all these instruments may prove to be inadequate. So, quantitative limits will still have to be set on the provision of credit, which calls for coordinated action on the part of the central bank and the commercial banks, and, in particular, the commercial banks' policies on choosing borrowers. This is an area in which new legal regulations are required. Our banking laws are behind schedule regarding certain essential regulations, and money markets have not expanded to the desired degree. It is a situation that we have to change as quickly as possible.

[Aleksandrowicz] Another issue is interest rate policy. Why for many years now has it not been possible to maintain a rate of interest that exceeds inflation? What kind of policy will you pursue on this issue?

[Wojtowicz] Let us consider the issue without letting emotions enter into it. The central bank sets the bank rate. It should be above the rate of inflation, but it also should not be inflationary. What is our inflation rate like? It is sky-high! In January, prices grew by 12.7 percent, which represents an annual rate of 320 percent. The forecasts for February see prices growing by 7 to 8 percent, which represents an annual increase of 125-152 percent.

With the rate at which prices rise varying so much, one has to view the situation over a period of several months and understand the expectations of those who are savers and those who want to borrow money. We are living in an economy in which expectations keep changing. The central bank signals its intentions by the way it fixes the bank rate. Commercial banks translate this signal into concrete interest rates on savings and loans. The competition will either encourage or discourage clients. To sum up, I think that in February, the central bank interest rate will be 72 percent, which is better than, for example, 55 percent or 200 percent. This is confirmed by the reactions of savers and borrowers.

[Aleksandrowicz] What significance does the signing of the letter of intent have for credit policy in a quantitative sense—does it mean less credit? Will national investment continue to enjoy priority, although loans for such projects do not make economic sense, but are, nevertheless, provided? Will unofficial credit ceilings continue to be applied?

[Wojtowicz] Once again, we should leave aside emotions when we consider this issue. We live in a world in which there are necessities and limited resources. Limits are necessary on credit operations for reasons that I think everyone is familiar with. It is necessary to provide loans on advantageous terms to agriculture and housing construction and selected national level investment projects. Furthermore, borrowers have to be chosen, and that calls for a rational selection procedure on the part of commercial banks.

[Aleksandrowicz] How should the problem of the provision of loans between enterprises be solved?

[Wojtowicz] When the availability of bank loans is limited, enterprises extend credits to each other. Banks, as an intermediary between suppliers and recipients, are responsible for efficient settlements, and that continues to be unsatisfactory in light of the backwardness of the technical infrastructure (computers, telecommunications).

Even the best technology cannot eliminate commodity credits, that is, a situation in which the supplier becomes a creditor and the recipient a debtor. You will agree that we are beginning to enter a sphere in which the banks can do something, but cannot eliminate this phenomenon.

[Aleksandrowicz] How can we make monetary instruments, for example, interest rates, market-oriented?

[Wojtowicz] A money market is coming into being. A one-month Polish National Bank bond has appeared. Three- and six-month Polish National Bank bonds will be introduced shortly and, I hope, so will treasury bonds. There are possibilities for developing an interbank money market. As it develops, the signals coming from the money market will increasingly affect interest rates.

[Aleksandrowicz] In the longer term, will the zloty gain or fall against the dollar? What about the short term? It is almost certain that the exchange rate will change over the next few months. However, the Ministry of Finance and the Polish National Bank maintain that all calculations are based on the present exchange rate. Should one "resist" this?

[Wojtowicz] The exchange rate is stable: the zloty price for the dollar has remained the same for the past 14 months, while the zloty prices of other currencies change depending on their performance in relation to the dollar on the international market. The intense discussion surrounding the exchange rate is, in my opinion, proof of impatience and misunderstanding. Impatience, because few people expected and expect the exchange rate to remain the same for a longer period of time. A misunderstanding, because only one aspect is taken into consideration (for example, export earnings for one particular product) while dozens of other factors affect the exchange rate (for example: inflationary pressures, higher cost of imports, another weakening of the zloty in relation to the dollar, and so on).

To put it briefly, the zloty is pegged to the dollar with the zloty price of the dollar remaining fixed for the time being. As for what will happen later, the answer to that question will depend on what happens over the next few months.

[Aleksandrowicz] What will you do if the whole economic program begins to break down, inflation begins to exceed 10 percent once again, wages get out of control, and the first devaluation leads us into a price spiral and further devaluations?

[Wojtowicz] First and foremost, we have to do everything possible to prevent this kind of situation from arising. What if it does happen? Then we will once again need the kind of therapy that we had at the beginning of 1990.

[Aleksandrowicz] What do you see as your main tasks in your new post? In short, what do you expect to find yourself assessing in a few years' time?

[Wojtowicz] The main tasks center on the value of the zloty and supporting economic policy, but to a degree that does not threaten the value of the zloty. Other important tasks include improving the state of banking legislation, a system for licensing banking institutions, overseeing the banking system, as well as cooperation with the government in the process of restructuring the banks. Of course, the central bank has to be reorganized so that it is no less efficient than similar institutions in countries that are considered to be model free market economies.

You said: in a few years' time.... We will see. I profoundly hope that banknotes and coins will represent fair purchasing power. Banknotes will have fewer zeros and the grosz will enter circulation once again. This will be possible if price movements do not harm the zloty. I also hope that instead of banknotes and coins, we will develop a liking for checks, transfers, and credit cards.... Essentially, the central bank's main task is to restore confidence in the Polish zloty. Let us hope that it has as many allies as possible.

Escalation of Restitution Claims Reported

AU1203153891 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (Economy and Law Section) in Polish 8 Mar 91 p 1

[Izabela Lewandowska report: "Pay Restitution, or Compensation?"]

[Text] There is no doubt that reprivatization must be carried out. As it looms closer, it becomes more obvious that the process will be very difficult, complicated, and controversial. The claims for restitution of expropriated property are escalating. More claims have been submitted than the total number of companies in existence in 1946 that could theoretically have been nationalized. According to official data, as of 31 July 1945, there were 30,017 enterprises in Poland, and 11,056 were owned by individuals or private companies. The rest belonged to state, communal, or cooperative ventures.

Many small factories, mills, brickworks, and workshops were nationalized during the so-called "small nationalization." In 1958, the Sejm adopted a law that finally regulated the legal position of property that had hitherto been under compulsory state management, regulated by a 1918 decree. In total, the postwar period saw 70 legal enactments that were used to expropriate private property. Much of this was very specific and only affected very small groups of people.

The total number of submitted restitution claims is unknown. Voivodship estimates put these at 51,000. The Ministry of Ownership Changes has received 548 claims concerning grain mills and 338 concerning agricultural property (including large farms and manor houses). There are 288 claims for drug stores; 149 for small factories and workshops; 84 for brickworks; 82 for large factories; 5 for coal mines; and 121 for various nonagricultural real estate.

The range and scope of reprivatization is not defined. Next Tuesday [12 March], the Council of Ministers is to debate the issue. The fundamental factor is the aspect of legality. One can only apply for restitution where property was expropriated unlawfully with reference to binding postwar legislation. Any other approach might seriously undermine the post-1945 legal system. Nobody knows how many decisions were unlawful. After 45 years, it is difficult to establish if a farm had 49 hectares (and was subject to agricultural reform) or if it had 51 hectares. If the latter, its subsequent nationalization was lawful. Who can remember if such and such factory had 48 or 50 employees on any production shift? If the latter, the factory was lawfully nationalized. The total possible number of claims has been estimated at 200,000-300,000. The cost of satisfying these could run to 60-200 trillion zlotys [Z]. The final sum will depend on the method of calculation and conversion used and the accepted extent of reprivatization. Different totals are obtained if one uses an index that is linked to the U.S. dollar, or to gold, or to the price of a basket of consumer goods.

The total cost of reprivatization will vary if, for example, it is decided to leave out drug stores and, above all, small factories that were under compulsory state control before they were formally nationalized in 1958. From the legal point of view, nationalization was carried out according to the prevailing law. However, the Sejm has already received drafts that include compensation or restitution for property in this category.

Estimates put the cost of satisfying all claims founded on cases where property was expropriated due to violations of the agriculture reform decree at Z6 trillion; those due to infringements of the nationalization law at Z25 trillion; and compensation payable for nationalized land in and around Warsaw in 1946 could reach Z12 trillion. It will cost about Z17.5 trillion to settle claims from the 50-70 thousand Poles who had to give up property to the east of the River Bug. All these calculations do not take into account the element of benefits lost, namely, what the owner could have earned had he been in possession of his property for the last 45 years.

After 45 years, restitution in kind will only be possible in exceptional cases. Many buildings no longer exist. Others have undergone such alterations and modernization that it is impossible to point to the original. Some of the properties were sold to third parties, and some have already been reprivatized on the basis of the 1990 privatization law. In their present state, it is impossible to restore them to their original owners. Moreover, as a result of the 1990 amendment to the land management law, many enterprises have now acquired good legal title to their property. To deprive some enterprises of title is clearly unfair and will only compound the problem.

The basic form of compensation will have to be capital bonds. Obviously this will reduce State Treasury revenues from the proceeds of privatization sales. It will also reduce the size of the available pool of privatization bonds for distribution to all Polish citizens under the so-called citizens' share ownership plan. If no sensible demarcation line is drawn around the reprivatization, there may not be any property left to be shared out. This would then threaten the privatization process. Before we do anything, it is worth looking at what is happening in the five laender of the former GDR. Despite the limited scale of reprivatization, the flood of claims from former owners has brought the privatization process to a halt. We have a similar example in Poland, namely the Swarzedz Furniture Factory. A former owner has submitted a claim for the factory, although the original factory is now only a minor part of the whole enterprise.

According to the privatization law of 1990, privatization must be preceded by an analysis that looks at possible claims by third parties. This could mean a long term brake for privatization. First, reprivatization has to be carried out as quickly as possible, and the time allowed for submitting claims must be limited. Second, the reprivatization process must be separate from privatization. Settling accounts with the past must not get in the way of the future.

Inflation at 7.5 Percent in February

AU1103233991 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 7 Mar 91 p 3

["abo-"signed report: "Inflation Is Declining"]

[Text] According to initial estimates, prices during the first 10 days of February were 4.5 percent up on the previous month. During February, the rate at which prices for all categories of goods grew declined in each successive 10-day period.

On the other hand, the February inflation rate amounted to 7.5 percent, if one takes into account the January increases that affected price increases in February. That is half a percent below the level projected by the Finance Ministry.

As Jerzy Malkowski of the Office of the Council of Ministers told us, during the first 10 days of February, prices rose by an average of 2.5 percent, by 1.2 percent during the second 10-day period, and by 0.8 percent during the final part of the month. Foodstuff prices rose the least, increasing by about 3 percent. Prices for nonfoodstuff items rose by an average of 5.6 percent. Prices charged for services rose the most, increasing by an average of 8.6 percent.

These figures were arrived at on the basis of information received from local tax offices and reports submitted by voivodes. The Main Office of Statistics will provide precise figures on about 15 March.

Closure of 136 State Enterprises Announced

AU1103232891 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Mar 91 p 2

["pok"-signed report: "Closure of 136 State Enterprises"]

[Text] The minister of ownership transformations, in agreement with parent companies, has issued a decision to close 46 enterprises on the basis of the Law on State Enterprises and has agreed to the closure of a further 90 enterprises on the basis of the Law on the Privatization of State Enterprises.

The assets of plants that are privatized by way of closure are generally made available for use in return for payment (a form of rental) and some assets are sold off. However, the assets of enterprises that are closed down because of their poor financial state are auctioned off.

Most of the enterprises that are being privatized this way are in the services sector (38), whereas most of the enterprises that are being closed down on the basis of the Law on State Enterprises are in the manufacturing sector (18). The parent companies of the enterprises that are about to be closed down and the Ministry of Ownership Transformations are already receiving offers from domestic and foreign investors.

Council of Ministers on Police Act, Papal Visit

AU0803162191 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6 Mar 91 p 2

['wicz' report: "When One Can Fire Into a Crowd; 238 Billion Zlotys for the Pope's Visit"]

[Text] In accordance with the Police Act, the Council of Ministers yesterday issued a directive stipulating when the police and the Army may be used to restore law and order, and under what circumstances they may use weapons. The adoption of an education bill was postponed until the next Council meeting. It was decided to allocate 238 billion zlotys [Z] for the pope's visit.

Speaking to ZYCIE about the Council debate on the subject of the directive, Jerzy Zimowski, vice minister of internal affairs, said that the circumstances specified in the directive are not connected with the current Polish situation. "The greatest worry," he said, "was how society might react to such a directive. No government likes to issue these directives, because they either disturb society or have no connection with the situation at hand. This time, the issue of the directive was dictated by legal time limits. The Police Act that was adopted last year requires the adoption of another 60 legal instruments, something that cannot be done all at once."

Large police units may be deployed when there is major social unrest, but not strikes, and when there is a danger of mass destruction or a general danger to life. The prime minister decides to deploy these units, on the interior minister's recommendation.

First of all, the police are obliged to use water cannon, truncheons, and tear gas, having given prior warning of their imminent use. The voivodship police commander makes the decision to use weapons when there is a direct attempt on people's lives, when appeals to drop weapons or other dangerous objects have gone unheeded, when there is an attempt to deprive policemen of their weapons, and when there is a likelihood of an act of terrorism against the premises of the highest state authorities.

Before weapons are used, the unit commander must first call out for orderly conduct, then issue a warning that weapons will be used, and finally order warning shots to be fired in the air. "The general rule," Minister Zimowski says, "is a weapon should cause the least damage to the person it is aimed at."

If the situation is still out of control even after the use of weapons, the president, on the prime minister's recommendations, may call in the Army. The Army's chief task is to protect buildings and seal off roads and parts of cities. Army units may also open fire on orders from the national defense minister.

Unlike the rules of the past, the present directive clearly states who makes the decision to use weapons and stipulates that every event is to be recorded on video. Every event is also to be followed by detailed investigations to establish whether the measures resorted to were correct.

Next, the Council of Ministers adopted a packet of laws to ratify the treaty on trade and economic relations with the United States and convert LOT Polish Airlines into a State Treasury company.

"The cost of the papal visit will be relatively high," said Minister Andrzej Zarebski, government spokesman, "because the Holy Father will visit places with a poor infrastructure, with no developed communications and overnight accommodations."

The press center alone will swallow Z9 billion. Some Z44 billion will be spent on a mobile satellite station, six mobile radio masts, and amplifying equipment; Z50 billion will go to the Interior Ministry for maintaining law and order and transporting 50,000 policemen; Z35 billion will be spent on satellite television equipment and a broadcasting vehicle, because the pope and episcopate want all broadcasts to be live; and Z100 billion will be allocated to 15 voivodships for medical facilities and safety equipment.

On the other hand, the Council of Ministers decided to allocate Z35.8 billion for the CSCE symposium due to be held in Krakow in late May or early June.

Kolodziejczyk Outlines Army Reorganization Plan

AU1103235291 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Mar 91 p 2

['M.W.'-signed report: "The Army, About Itself"]

[Text] Minister of National Defense Piotr Kolodziejczyk met journalists on 6 March. During the press conference, he presented a program of proposed reorganization of the Armed Forces, and he underscored the fact that a program of fundamental reforms of the Armed Forces would be adopted by June 1991.

He supported the idea of a Sejm debate on the Armed Forces and their role in providing security for Poland. He indicated that the reduced military budget (8 percent less than last year) is insufficient even to cover running costs, for example, purchase of replacement parts, and this situation would eventually lead to military equipment being scrapped. The so-called small budget is insufficient to maintain a modern professional Army. In the future, the Armed Forces should have a total of 230,000 to 240,000 troops. The minister emphasized the importance of high morale and sense of honor for the Army and society. In this context, he hinted that there was a proposal to reactivate the prewar institution of regular meetings between career officers. He also confirmed that, in accordance with the new defense doctrine, some military units had already been deployed from the west to the east of the country. The operational plan calling for a strengthening of Poland's eastern border had now been in effect for the last six months, including the redeployment of reserves of airborne assault troops.

Population Critical of TV Domestic Coverage

AU0703144591 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Mar 91 p 3

['J.R.' report: "Television Viewed in Critical Terms"]

[Text] What do people think of television programming? According to an opinion poll on 4 and 5 February, over 50 percent think it is mediocre. Less and less people think it is good and more and more think it is bad. Forty-nine percent of the respondents said they trust television (in a similar opinion poll conducted in February 1990, 64 percent had said they trust television). Almost half the respondents claimed television was objective, even if it meant criticizing the authorities. One-third thought television was only presenting the opinions of the authorities.

Is television providing good coverage of national and international events? Three-quarters of the respondents thought coverage of the events in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia had been satisfactory, and the rest deemed it unsatisfactory. Almost three-quarters of respondents thought coverage of the Gulf war was satisfactory, and the rest thought it too scanty. Half of the respondents said that television was not providing enough coverage of protests by various social groups. Only slightly more than one-third said that the coverage in this sphere was adequate. Over one-half said that television was not saying enough about the president's activities. Two-thirds were convinced that television does not convey current moods. Two-thirds also thought television was not saying enough about the forthcoming parliamentary election.

The general conclusion is that if television is keeping people well informed of international events, that is not the case concerning domestic events. That view was shared mostly by young people, people with higher education, and urban residents.

Compared to the results of an opinion poll last year, definitely fewer people thought television was not showing enough Western movies and serials (last year, 65 percent of the respondents had said so, but this year only 45 percent said so). But more people than last year thought that television was not reporting enough on the work of the government and not carrying enough programs for young people, programs on military affairs, and current affairs programs (last year it was 29, 48, 19, and 55 percent of respondents respectively who said so, and this year it was 47, 60, 29, and 65 percent respectively who said so). Far more people than last year thought that television was saturated with broadcasts of Sejm and Senate meetings (30 percent had thought so last year, and 60 percent thought so this year). Definitely more people also thought there were too many religious broadcasts (8 percent of respondents had said so last year, and 21 percent said so this year).

Government Spokesman on Press Privatization

AU1203102991 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8 Mar 91 p 5

["luk"-signed report: "Pyramid of Lies"]

[Text] The "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers' Cooperative Publishing House will be privatized by the end of March. According to the PAP president, that organization is already completely independent.

The "information order" in Poland is in a catastrophic state. The "pyramid of lies" that was inherited from the communists has to be broken up, said Government Spokesman Andrzej Zarebski at a meeting with editors from the regional press at the Office of the Council of Ministers on Thursday [7 March].

The government spokesman said that information carried by the press reaches 20 percent of society, whereas 50 percent of Poles receive information solely from radio and television.

The process of transforming the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers' Cooperative Publishing House is still in progress, the Radio and Television Committee monopoly is being dismantled, and PAP and what was formerly INTERPRESS are being changed. RZECZPOSPOLITA has ceased to be a government paper. The government believes regional media are becoming of fundamental importance. The government press office is prepared to cooperate with all local newspapers, said Zarebski.

PAP President Ignacy Rutkiewicz assured the meeting that the agency was completely independent, although it is still formally a government agency. The president said that the entire management and most local journalists had been replaced. Unfortunately, the agency's financial situation does not permit it to employ the very best journalists. PAP must change its status to dispel all suspicion about it being influenced by the government. It is being proposed that the agency should be transformed into a public service institution or company, said Rutkiewicz.

Kazimierz Strzyczkowski, chairman of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers' Cooperative Publishing House Liquidation Commission, said that the process of privatizing press titles belonging to the concern should be completed by the end of March.

Shop Rite Plans To Open Stores in Country

AU1203153391 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (Economy and Law Section) in Polish 9-10 Mar 91 p 1

[Danuta Walewska report: "Shop Rite in Poland"]

[Text] There is every indication that Shop Rite, the large U.S. supermarket chain, is about to invest in Poland. During a visit to Poland, Sydney Singer, one of the co-owners, held talks with the city authorities in Lodz and Warsaw; there are plans to build the first giant stores in those cities.

Shop Rite stores have a 6,000 square meter floor area where foodstuffs are packaged and retailed. In the United States, each store employs 320 people and has a weekly turnover of $1 million. The same number of people would be employed in Poland, but turnover levels are yet to be determined.

Sydney Singer believes that every store in Poland would cost him about $10 million, and he would like to invest on a 50-50 basis together with Polish partners, who would, for example, retain ownership of the site on which a store had been built. For the time being, 5 possible sites have been found in Lodz and three in Warsaw. As Michal Kropidlowski, one of the Polish Shop Rite partners, said, further American-style supermarkets would be set up in Katowice, Gdansk, and Bialystok, because of the latter's proximity to the Soviet border.

Most of the items sold by Shop Rite in Poland would be imported from the United States (because high-processed foodstuffs are cheap there), but all agricultural produce (including canned vegetables) would be Polish, although specially packed for the company. The investors are not as much alarmed by transportation cost levels as by Polish tariffs and the sales tax. In view of the enormous scale of operations, profit margins are low and do not exceed 3 to 5 percent.

It would not only mean cheap shopping, but it would also provide opportunities for promoting Polish farm produce exports to the United States, where Polish foodstuffs, with the exception of ham and items found in specialty stores, are unknown.

Poll Shows Majority for Bessarabia's Independence

AU1303112791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0952 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 13/3/1991—A comprehensive poll sponsored by the Civic Alliance, the Bucharest-Chisinau [Kishinev] Society and the publications ROMANIA LIBERA, FLACARA and FLACARA BESSARABIEI, shows that people of all ages and all walks of life across the nation were ready to state their options on the problems discussed.

Asked whether they opined that the Republic of Moldova (Bessarabia) had to be completely independent from Moscow, 98.2 percent of the subjects said yes, considering Bessarabia's independence as an historical, natural and inevitable necessity.

As for the question referring to the March 17 referendum, 95.7 percent of the subjects considered the referendum proposed by Moscow as an anomaly given that Moldova is still under Soviet occupation.

What is remarkable about this poll is that numerous options were sent even by the Hungarians in Romania.

The poll highlights that it is only the whole Romanian people, on either bank of the Prut that may decide its destiny, in harmony with the international laws that give legal regulations to the civilization of the planet, and rejects any attempt by Moscow to force the Republic of Moldova into the Union Treaty.

USSR Called On To Give Up Moldova Referendum

AU1303142391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1303 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 13/3/1991—"DREPTATEA," the official newspaper of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party, carries in its 13 March issue a statement of 25 political parties, organisations, associations and trade unions in Romania, on the referendum that the USSR plans to hold in the Republic of Moldova on 17 March.

Its signatories appeal to the USSR leadership to rescind their decision for a referendum in the Republic of Moldova, which took a position against it. They solemnly state that the referendum, which disregards international laws and ethics, is and will be regarded as null and void right away, and of no political consequence.

The arguments brought in the statement are the international condemnation and cancellation by the Soviet Union itself (in December 1989) of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact which seized from Romania the present territory of the Republic of Moldova along with land illegally given to the Ukraine, and the solemn recognition in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Helsinki Final Act system of documents of the right of peoples to decide their own destinies. Hence the demand to remove all legal consequences of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and the impossibility to keep one people against its will in a multinational state it was forcefully incorporated into. Since the Republic of Moldova proclaimed its sovereignty and explicitly said it would not accept in its territory the referendum which was voted down by its lawfully elected parliament it is against international law, that a referendum be called by another power, the statement says.

The statement is signed by the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party, the National Liberal Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Monarchist Liberal Party, the Pro-Bessarabia and Bukovina Association, the Bucharest-Chisinau [Kishinev] Cultural Association, the Action Committee for the Democratisation of the Army—CADA, the Fraternitatea Political Trade Union, University Solidarity, the Bureau of the Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum, among others.

Christian Union Protests Referendum

AU1203204291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1944 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/3/1991—ROMPRES news agency received from the Democratic and Christian Union and from the Maniu-Mihalache National Democratic and Christian Party a statement whereby the two parties are taking a stand against the Soviet leadership's decision to stage a referendum on March 17, 1991 in the Republic of Moldova aiming at integrating it in the USSR.

Recalling that "Bessarabia's territory, now the Republic of Moldova, was annexed by the USSR in June 1940 after an ultimatum and by using armed force, as a direct result of the Hitlerite-communist Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, later to be rejected by all states of the world including the USSR—December 1989," the document points out that no referendum had been held prior to that annexation and that the local population had never been consulted whether it approved or not.

The land of Bessarabia, north Bucovina and Herta is a fundamental right of the Romanian people as a whole and it is obvious that all effects of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact must be fully eliminated, the document reads.

Pro-Bessarabia Group Appeals for Historical Truth

AU1303103691 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 6 Mar 91 p 2

["Appeal by the 'Pro-Bessarabia and Bukovina' Cultural Association"—place and date not given]

[Text] In the chronicles of the Romanian nation, 27 March is an outstanding date, worthy of a national holiday.

Indeed, 73 years ago, on that date, the Romanian patriots in Bessarabia inaugurated the great work of building Greater Romania.

On 27 March 1918, the democratically and legally established Country's Assembly—the Parliament of the Democratic Moldavian Republic—met in full session in Kishinev. At that historic meeting, the Country's Assembly adopted the following resolution by a majority of votes:

"By virtue of our national rights and on the basis of the principle that the peoples alone should decide their own destiny, the Moldavan Democratic Republic (Bessarabia)—in its borders between the Rivers Prut, Dniester, and Danube, the Black Sea, and the old borders with Austria, torn away by Russia, some 100 years ago, from the body of old Moldova—is uniting itself, as of today, with mother Romania for ever."

Bessarabia was thus the first Romanian province that, in that turbulent and glorious year 1918, returned to the bosom of the motherland, Romania. Bessarabian leaders of the Country's Assembly, such as Ion Inculet, Pantelimon Hallipa, Constantin Stere, Ion Pelivan, Ion Buzdugan, Daniel Ciugureanu, Anton Crihan, and others brought Bessarabia to the forefront of the Romanian nation's triumphant march toward the creation of the united national state, the Kingdom of Romania.

The "Pro Bessarabia and Bukovina" Cultural Association addresses a warm appeal to the directors of educational institutions, class teachers, and all history teachers throughout Romania, Bessarabia, and north Bukovina to organize educational actions to explain to their pupils and students the importance and significance of the historic event of 27 March 1918. The 73d anniversary of Bessarabia's union with Romania should be commemorated under the sign of historical truth and love for the nation.

At the same time, the "Pro-Bessarabia and Bukovina" branches throughout the country call on all Romanians to take part in thanksgiving services, followed by conferences and parties, in honor of this event.

Nicolae Pan Halippa, president
Valeriu Graur, general secretary

Bessarabia's Fate Said Dependent on All Citizens

AU1203141091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1337 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/3/1991—"Bessarabia's fate depends upon the whole Romanian people" declared Iurie Rosca, chairman of the People's Front of the Republic of Moldova in an interview with daily ROMANIA LIBERA with reference to the impending March 17 referendum in the USSR. "We cannot accept the referendum in any case, since it has no legal support. An occupier cannot organize a referendum in an occupied territory," the respondent noted, stressing: "When it is about self-determination, the whole Romanian nation has a right to it, it is the duty of all Romanians to contribute to it."

Iurie Rosca expressed also his hope that the authorities in Romania would not remain indifferent to Bessarabia's issue. "As legitimate citizens of Romania, of the Romanian state, being temporarily under Soviet occupation, we have the moral and legal right to apply to and make demarches with the current authorities of Romania" he concluded.

Opposition Leaders Decline Meeting With Iliescu

AU1203142491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1301 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/3/1991—Concerning the invitation President Iliescu made to all the political parties in Romania's Parliament to take part in an interview on Monday, 11 March, the opposition parties signatories to "the National Convention for Instituting Democracy," considering the way the invitation was addressed and the formal character of the interview that seems to have a propagandistic aim in view, have decided not to answer the invitation, reads a communique sent to be released to "ROMPRES" news agency.

The communique also says that the parties signatories to the National Convention for Instituting Democracy still support the idea of the necessity of an open and constructive dialogue between these parties and Romania's president, as they said as early as December 1990, making it possible for conclusions to be drawn and concrete solutions to be found to overcome the crisis. The communique is signed by Otto Weber, chairman of the Romanian Ecologist Party; Radu Campeanu, chairman of the National Liberal Party; Corneliu Coposu, chairman of the Christian Democratic National Peasant Party; Sergiu Cunescu, chairman of the Social Democratic Party; Geza Domokos, chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania.

Bratianu Union Deplores Declined Invitation

AU1303112191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0958 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 13/3/1991—In connection with the invitation extended by Romania's president to the leaders of the political formations represented in the parliament and the heads of the parliamentary groups, the Bratianu Liberal Union states:

"The dialogue started by the country's president is in line of agreement with the meeting proposed. We consider the meeting we have participated in as having the value of a round table conference in which all present leaders were able to sustain their standpoint.

"The absence of the representatives of certain political formations was of a nature to prevent a joint agreement on the grave problems the country has to handle now.

"We express our complete disagreement with the refusal to have a dialogue of some of our political and parliamentary colleagues."

Iliescu Said Intolerant of Press 'Criticism'

AU1303121291 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6 Mar 91 p 1

[Ioana Iuga article: "You Are Wrong, Mr. President!"]

[Text] From a communique released by the Presidency's Press Directorate we have learned that the article "Whom Did We Elect on 20 May" published in our paper of 1 March (as well as other articles published by DREPTATEA) constitute—in the opinion of the Presidency—the climax of a "genuine campaign of denigration and slander against Romania's president." The said communique mentions that this campaign is also "an attack against the democracy that was so difficult for the Romanian people to achieve." I have reread the article in question, which does nothing but recall two pieces of truth of public notoriety. The first one is the fact that at this point the "enigmas" of the December revolution have not been clarified yet: The killer-terrorists have not been identified, although, thank goodness, there were opportunities to find them, and we do not know the exact number of the victims claimed. Documents about the terrorists have disappeared, and those people who brutally abused the arrested revolutionaries have not been identified. The second one refers to the responsibility resting on our country's president and prime minister in this respect. The conclusion has been reached that information about the December events was of great importance for the 20 May elections. Naturally, the question arises what are the reasons for the lack of interest displayed in this regard by the two people at the top of the power pyramid. This question has been systematically asked in the Romanian press. Usually the reaction of those in question was to reject it and the publications asking such questions were automatically termed "a certain part of the press." This is why the statement of the said communique is not surprising. On the contrary, this reaction once again demonstrates that presidential demands are selective and pursue a logic that is alien to the common man. By virtue of this logic, the president may slander and distort the sense and significance of certain events. In other words, the president may take the liberty to call a whole group of peacefully demonstrating people hooligans. The president may refer to the 13 June 1990 events as an iron-guardist action, without having any other proof except his own remembrance of a truly iron-guardist rebellion. The president may take the liberty to summon the miners to Bucharest—risking a civil war—and then equably deny that he called them, although he expressed thanks to them for their civic spirit. The president takes the liberty of categorizing the Romanian press according to the way it refers to the basic institution of the leadership. The president refuses to admit that he, too, is a human being and that, in turn, he has to come up with the right arguments to support the judgment he passes on others. The president demands from others what he does not demand from himself: Strictly the truth and responsibility for one's statements. As a matter of fact, the president demonstrates that he does not understand the notion of slander, because he confuses it with criticism.

FSN's Iordache: Party Will Step 'to the Left'

AU1303144791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1331 GMT 13 Mar 91

["Political Life: Claudiu Iordache—For the Time Being, All We Can Redistribute Is Sacrifice"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 13/3/1991—The national convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN] put off several times, is now scheduled for 15-16 March 1991, said FSN First Vice President Claudiu Iordache in an interview for the daily ADEVARUL, revealing the fact that, while preparing the convention, for renovating the oganisational pattern, for a new statute as a party statute. [sentence as received]

"The first article of the statute provides for our evolving to a centre-left party, of social-democratic orientation. The second chapter contemplates our affiliation to the Socialist International. We shall become a social-democratic party relying on a dogma-free doctrine, because in Romania now social-democracy itself will have to fill a different gap, as it follows communism, not capitalism. Although disgusted with original experiments, this time real facts defy us and we shall have to respond on a par."

This social-democratic orientation is prompted first by the existence in Romania of a very important and economically vulnerable social category the waged labourers: Manual and intellectual workers. They are dependent on their salaries which now in Romania are constantly depreciating. This disfavoured category forms the majority. A party that wins over its votes can always win the elections. And we have secured their votes and support. This important segment leans, at the moment, politically speaking, very much to the left. What we'll have to do is to bring this "very left" towards the centre. The government itself is heading for the centre, in its effort to build the frame of the state of law and of a market economy."

Referring to the present government's policy, the FSN first vice president opined that the government's was not a neoliberal policy but the attempt to unchain society from the constraints of the communist concepts, as long as the government pursues not just an economic reform, but aims at a strategic dissolution of communist structures, to help society itself reform.

"As soon as we have a civil society and a market economy, our party will take a step to the left because then we shall be capable to keep an important promise we have made that of offering social protection. Social protection implies distribution of wealth, and as of now we have no wealth to share. Yet, there is something we can think of sharing: Sacrifices, because in our way to a market economy we shall all have to accept some personal sacrifice."

Mr. Claudiu Iordache strongly denied any connection between the leadership of the National Salvation Front and that of the Socialist Party of Labour: "I do not know them, I have never met any of their leaders."

Roman's 'State of the Nation Report' Continues

AU1203134791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1200 GMT 12 Mar 91

["Part 11" of "State of the Nation Report" by Prime Minister Petre Roman to Parliament on 26 February]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/3/1991—**The Reform and Social Security**

The government's fundamental option was and is for a fact yet socially protected transition to the market economy.

The centerpiece of the social programme for 1991 is the essential distinction between the protection given to active, productive segments of the population, and the protection given to the segments which cannot improve their standard of living through their own effort. In a market economy, productive groups protect and improve their standard of living chiefly through their own effort, through work. Here the government's duty is to rally the energies and ensure the conditions for economic revival, the creation of jobs, of a framework for the active segments of the population to conserve and increase their economic resources through their own effort. The very rapid promotion of reform provides the setting and the conditions for a stimulation of the economic forces of our society.

The creation of new work places is the most efficient way of government protection, which is, in effect, the majority-population's self-protection. A major concern on this line is to identify and stimulate all possible resources to create new jobs. And a number of recent measures have opened up the prospects for bigger incomes to be made from additional productive activities. The shorter work week coupled with the law on the cumulation of jobs provide the opportunity as well as the legal framework for additional income-making.

By setting a compulsory minimal salary for the economy, the government guarantees the dignity of work, a minimum of resources, certainly in the difficult economic conditions we are in.

However, we must be aware that inflation is the greatest threat to the population's incomes, hence to its welfare. The severe anti-inflationist measures we must take are not only a condition for economic recovery in general, but also a major aim of social protection. Any inflation-generating improvement of the living conditions of one segment or another may quickly become counter-productive from the social security point of view as well. Inflationist means cannot result in an efficient social security system.

We must definitely discard the idea of a paternalist socialist state which absorbs all the revenues of society in exchange for the illusion of a general security, which proved out to be generalised poverty.

The new society we are building largely lifts the central controls from social security. It is the duty of the economic agents, now independent and accountable, fully enjoying the fruit of their work, to ensure their employers a proper measures of social security.

Nevertheless, there are many social groups which cannot make an income (children, high and higher school students, invalids, handicapped, senior citizens). Social security for them is different from that for the active population. For the social security of these segments, the state must be concerned to increase its means. Here too structural changes are needed. In a society with a largely modern market economy, protection must be in the form of social security on the principle of collective solidarity. We are working on the basic social security principles. Our basic option is to build a state apt to meet the fundamental needs of the entire population, for medical care for the improvement of which we made great efforts and which we are determined to continue and of assistance to the needy.

In order to offset the income drop as a result of unemployment, the government has established an unemployment benefit system entitling all persons capable to work to collect unemployment benefits for a six-month period: The benefit comprises up to 60 percent of the lowest salary plus the monthly handout for the recent high, vocational and apprentice school graduates, and 60 percent of the latest salary plus the handout for workers with a length of service of over 15 years. Besides, a jobless will be given access to the government's retraining and guidance programme after payment of the unemployment benefits has stopped.

The basis for a new social workers' training system that meets the demands of modern societies was laid last year.

To rid the social security system of red tape, to stress its workers' active and highly personal contribution in addition to its high professionalism are essential factors of an efficient social security activity.

As far as pensions are concerned the situation we have inherited is dismal. A large category of old persons, farmers, because of the bankruptcy of the cooperative farms, were denied even the low pensions that others were given. Our society will have to make a great effort to redress the wrong that the bankrupt socialist system did to the people.

Some measures to improve the living conditions of the most disadvantaged (war invalids, handicapped, orphans and abandoned children) were either taken or about to be taken. However, we are aware that for the larger part of the elderly, this will still be an open problem.

Maybe the highest aspiration ever since the first days of the revolution was to redress the great wrongs that the old regime did to the Romanian people, hence legislative and organisational measures to restore the dignity of the person and provide for a free and decent social setting. These were accompanied by others which increased incomes in various ways. In 1990 more than 110 billion lei were made by the population in direct income, or about 20,000 lei per average family. The specific way those higher incomes were made differed widely: The abolition of electricity and gas quotas and the setting of low tariff rates, the elimination of compulsory obligations in money and labour.

On the basis of the laws that were either enacted or about to be, the year 1991 opens up the prospects for a new social security policy. The liberalisation of salaries gives the working people an opportunity to make significantly higher incomes in a healthy economic environment.

I need not insist on the beneficial effects of the land law. We all whole-heartedly hope that in 1991 agriculture will be a source of welfare for all, and particularly for those whose occupation it is, for farmers.

Only a sound economy can supply the necessary budgetary resources to improve the quality of all social services of national importance (health, education, culture, research).

We must be aware that, because of great economic problems, the social security that we can give to the least favoured segments of the population will fall short of our desire.

The budget I submitted to you reflects the effort to better use the foreseeable economic resources for the common welfare.

For social security, more than 2.4 billion lei is earmarked in 1991, up from half a million in 1989. We will have to find the money to develop medical care, and schooling activities, cultural activities and sport, to improve not only the living standard but also the cultural one. Accordingly, one third of the central state administration budget (or 122 billion lei) is planned for such activities.

We will take good care to assist the families with children. Parents will take advantage of a 20 percent tax cut. A new child benefit system is being made to give greater financial assistance to the families with children. Benefits will be extended to high and higher school students up to 25 years of age, and to the children of farmers, self-employed or freelance professionals who did not qualify for aid until now. Unfortunately we have yet to find the sources for this extension, but this is a matter of concern to us.

As part of the effort to provide normal living and working conditions, the five-day work week was generalised. However, we must be aware of the fact that, if that was a necessary and positive measure for the physical and mental health of our people, which gave everyone the opportunity to diversify one's pursuits, it also required that everyone worked better. We cannot help noting that the security measures for hazardous or otherwise tenuous working conditions, including shorter working hours, have brought our work week to 35 hours on an average one of the shortest in the world (France 38 hours, Germany 40 hours, Britain and Switzerland 42 hours, Japan 48 hours, south Korea 54 hours).

Young people, particularly young families will get aid, they being one of the categories that are most involved in the transition process. We will assist the youth through soft, long-term credits included to build decent lives for themselves.

Iliescu on Reform, Land Law, Other Issues

AU1303104691 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 6 Mar 91 p 1

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by Andrei Alexandru; place and date not given: "A Year Dominated by Economic Difficulties"—first paragraph is ADEVARUL introduction]

[Text] President Ion Iliescu was kind enough to answer a few questions at the end of last week about topical issues of our country's political activity.

[Alexandru] Would you please say a few words about the report presented by Prime Minister Roman in Parliament.

[Iliescu] This report is the result of a dialogue I recently conducted with the government leadership. I thought it was necessary to make an analysis in Parliament and before the country of the state of the economy at this juncture, to examine the difficulties we are faced with, and what we have to do to finalize the legislative basis for the promotion of the reform. This year will be dominated by economic difficulties, and we are all aware of it. In fact, this situation does not depend on the government that is in power. The report presented the objective difficulties we are facing. I suppose a number of critical remarks will be made by the parliamentarians. Such remarks, which have to be borne in mind, were made known to us during talks with economic representatives. They refer to leadership issues in the application of the reform and to a more active and more direct communication with those representatives. The levers of communication between the macroeconomic leadership and the one that is actually applying the reform has to be improved as well. At the same time, this is a crucial time for agriculture; therefore, I made a point of being present at the dialogue between prefects and representatives of agricultural bodies. In agriculture we are able to make much faster progress in applying the reform. This discussion focused on the application of the Land Law, so that the 1991 agricultural year is not compromised. The application of this law will take time. Applications will be received the first 30 days; then relevant commissions will decide on them. We think that this process will take some nine months, including the dismantling of cooperatives as the case may be.

[Alexandru] Would you please tell us whether you foresee a government reshuffle.

[Iliescu] This could be, because Prime Minister Roman has suggested such a possibility.

[Alexandru] Can you tell us anything concrete?

[Iliescu] Discussions are under way. We have had preliminary consultations, but I would not like to say anything before the government itself has come up with proposals.

[Alexandru] Part of the public was surprised that the presidency did not intervene in the strike in Iasi, especially because you are very well acquainted with that part of the country.

[Iliescu] Our final intervention contributed to the ending of the strike. I have to tell you that, on the one hand, the president cannot infringe upon the prerogatives of the executive bodies, while, on the other, I followed the main events with great attention, and I held discussions with trade union representatives.

[Alexandru] There are rumors about some misunderstandings between you and Prime Minister Roman. What are the facts?

[Iliescu] It is not a question of misunderstandings. The situation in the political and economic life is so complex that it is only natural that there are different views, options, and opinions linked to tangible aspects: As a matter of fact, the basic principles of the reform have even been endorsed by the opposition. Certainly, controversies may emerge in connection with the tangible application of the reform and thus differences of opinion may surface constantly.

[Alexandru] Finally, an understanding has been reached, has it not?

[Iliescu] I do not want to interfere. When I have the chance, I express my views and try to help clarify problems and seek solutions; however it is the duty of the executive bodies to elaborate things and put them into practice.

[Alexandru] Thank you!

Genocide Charge Against Ex-PCR Leaders Dropped

AU1203204191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1903 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/3/1991—The trial of the former politburo members entered the stage of substantial debates during the session of Tuesday, March 12. Prosecutor Grigore Scarlatoiu, after a thorough analysis of the defendants' statements during legal investigations and of the evidence available at this stage, appreciated that the charge of genocide against the former politburo members was groundless.

Concluding that, during the politburo meetings of December 17 and 22, 1989, the members of the highest political forum of Romania's communist totalitarian regime had accepted, expressly or tacitly, the measures which placed the life of the country's citizens in serious danger ordered by Nicolae Ceausescu in his triple capacity as secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [PCR], head of state and supreme commander of the Army, the prosecutor requested that the charge with the crime of genocide, as mentioned in the indictment, be replaced with the charge of instigation to murder of two or more persons, which, according to the law, carries a life sentence or from 15 to 20 years of detention.

The court set the next session for March 18.

Ministry Official Interviewed on Minority Rights

LD1203235391 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0750 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Interview with Adrian Dohotaru, Foreign Ministry undersecretary responsible for cultural issues, by Levente Suekkoesd; place and date not given—recorded, in Romanian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Excerpt] [Suekkoesd] [passage omitted] Tell me, what is your opinion on Romania's present minority policy?

[Dohotaru] I beleive in the case of minorities, which is a very sensitive issue, Romania has fulfilled its duty. Furthermore, because you mentioned it, I would say the situation would be really clear and straightforward if every country in this region would respect the rights of the minorities living in its territory, as Romania does. There are countries that declare that they are respecting the rights of minorities, but essentially they are not doing so.

[Suekkoesd] It seems to me that the minority issue is not settled in Romania. Hungarians want more freedom while the Romanians are speaking of rightless privileges.

[Dohotaru] The rights of minorities must not be restricted. They simply have to be coordinated with the freedom rights of the majority. In the cases when a minority is in a privileged situation compared to the majority, various kinds of tension can develop. In my view there is no mention of such privileges.

[Suekkoesd] Then presumably you do not condsider the Hungarian-language broadcasts by Romanian television privliges. Did you know that the broadcasting time of these programs has been decreased?

[Dohotaru] I find it very important to tell you that the freedom of speech is, in fact, also provided for the minorities in Romania despite the fact that the broadcasting time of the Hungarian-language programs of Romanian television has recently been decreased.

[Suekkoesd] What you say seems a bit contradictory to me. It seems to me that theory is not always in accord with practice.

[Dohotaru] I do not see any contradiction between our statements and our actions. These are only seeming contradictions, as I mentioned earlier.

[Suekkoesd] Could it be a totally unpolitical decision that the broadcasting time of the program in Hungarian and German languages has decreased?

[Dohotaru] It is not a one-sided decision. This measure does not only afflict individual broadcasts but all the broadcasts in general.

[Suekkoesd] If it is so, then do you not think that positive discrimination, which has been mentioned extensively all over Europe, could be implemented within Romanian television, too, to provide some kind of potection for minority broadcasts?

[Dohotaru] To give state support to minorities? It seems to me that minorities enjoy protection in Romania. As for television, I do not doubt that when it has enough money to provide the financial cover for the various broadcats, it will do so. On the other hand, we could certainly argue whether a minority television broadcast has to be protected against the will of the majority.

[Suekkoesd] Let us turn to an increasingly topical issue in Romanian politics. Do you agree with the view that it is not proper to organize political parties on an ethnic basis?

[Dohotaru] In my view, a political party cannot represent a national minority under normal conditions. I believe the question of party-mindedness has to be treated much more comprehensively. A wider interpretation is needed than the present one. It is not a liberal solution if a separate political party represents minorities on the political palette of a country, because, after all, any representative of the minorities can be a member of any political party. I believe this has to be provided for the Romanian minority at all times. Let them decide which ideas are the nearest to them out of the ideas of the Liberal, Christian Democrat, Republican, or Peasants' Party. This is the only way it can be discovered how they imagine future society.

[Suekkoesd] Would a separate political interest representation be unwanted separatism?

[Dohotaru] Yes, it can be regarded as a kind of separatism, epsecially under cirucmstances where there are no parties of this nature in our direct surroundings, in the neighboring countries, although this is an area where various minorities do live. This issue is naturaly much more complicated and complex than it looks. The minority's attitude toward the majority has to be examined from political aspects in any case. There is a majority that can vote for one or another party in free elections, and there is a miniority that can easily suffer total defeat in the present situation, in the elections which are carried out according to the rules. So these issues have to be treated more carefully, as they can be interpreted in several ways. This is not censorship. These idas are not directed against the intellectual, political efforts of minorities. We are simply witnesses of the healthy games of political life. It cannot be regarded as the violation of minority rights that parties cannot be organized on an ethnic basis while they can in fact represent themselves in parliament by various parties. All that we are speaking about now, only reflects one view, because if this issue comes on the agenda, in this case decison can only be made within such institutionalized frameworks as the Deputies' Assembly or the Senate. [passage omitted]

Spokesman Holds Briefing on Foreign Investment

AU1203210091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1612 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/3/1991—According to the National Agency for Privatization and the Development of Small- and Medium-Sized Enterprises in Romania so far as many as 143,974 applications for organized economic agents were lodged and 121,294 authorizations were issued, Mr. Bogdan Baltazar, spokesman for the Romanian Government and secretary of state, said in his weekly press conference.

As many as 1,438 joint companies with a total capital worth 1,775,000,000 lei, 89.4 million U.S. dollars, 278 billion German marks and 8.8. million French francs were created. Foreign partners in the joint companies come from 63 countries, most of them from Germany—231, Italy—164, the U.S.A.—113 and France—96.

Romanian agriculture employs at the moment a number of 67,000 experts, of whom 48,000 are agronomists, the government spokesman, Secretary of State Bogdan Baltazar, stated during the weekly news conference. He mentioned that the "threatened jobs" concern the 14,700 experts now working with the producer cooperative farms, since all the other specialists currently employed by state-run commercial enterprises and other agricultural units for research or other activities have no such problems. The following provisions have been planned to make best use of agricultural experts who, in fact, are scarce rather than in excess, as the government spokesman pointed out: setting up agricultural enterprises that may employ at least 3,000 specialists; setting up commercial enterprises to supply services in the villages, which may employ about 600 agronomists. The 4,000 mechanization units branches of the relevant commercial enterprises will need about 4,000 specialists. Moreover, the agricultural units that will be created will absorb 6,000 specialists. The commercial enterprises that have replaced the former state farms will also create about 7 to 8,000 new jobs. Therefore, the number of new jobs that will be available in agriculture will amount to over 20,000.

TU Alliance Issues 'Statement of Principles'

AU1303105391 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 6 Mar 91 p 2

["Statement of Principles of the 15 November Inter-Trade Union Confederative Alliance"—place and date not given]

[Text] Taking note of the ever more visible use of nondemocratic methods by certain trade unions, of the abusive practices of certain local leaders that are alien to the interests of trade union members, as well as of the attempt of various representatives of the powers that be to hamper and splinter the trade union movement, the Inter-Trade Union Confederative Alliance, the "15 November Movement" Trade Unions, the Federation of Trade Unions from the Bucharest Waters General Department, the Constanta Free Trade Union of Navigators, the Timisoara Federation, the Roman Municipal League, the Suceava Mefisotex Trade Union, the Free Trade Union of Romanian Television, and the Constanta IEPMT [abbreviation not known] Trade Union decided to establish the 15 November Inter- Trade Union Confederative Alliance [ACI].

The 15 November ACI will get inspiration from the principles of the social-Christian morality. Its positions regarding various problems of socioeconomic organization—while always preoccupied with ensuring the prosperity of the nation and of the people it represents—are animated by the ideals of social peace, fraternity, and justice.

The 15 November ACI considers man as the basic element of production. The production conditions must facilitate the development of the human personality, by correctly satisfying man's material, intellectual, individual, family, and social needs.

The 15 November ACI intends to make maximize all educational resources available to the trade union movement and, on the other hand, calls on all cultural figures and all democratic forces, who can help mold our people in accordance with the responsibilities incumbent upon them, to contribute to democratizing Romania's social and economic life.

The 15 November ACI is determined to engage in a permanent and efficient dialogue with the powers that be and the employers, regardless of who their representatives may be, to defend and ensure the material and cultural interests of its members.

To consolidate the national and democratic character of its entire activity, the 15 November ACI remains open to all independently constituted trade unions that want to join it.

The 15 November ACI will support the payment of appropriate wages and increments, in accordance with the work done.

The 15 November ACI will work for observation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Labor Organization Charter.

The 15 November ACI requires appropriate moral behavior from its leaders, whose protection it will ensure by using all means available to the trade union struggle.

The Provisional Coordinating and Steering Commission of the 15 November ACI

Price Liberalization 2d Stage To Start 1 Apr

AU1203204491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1916 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/3/1991—The second stage of price liberalisation—the first having taken place on November first, 1990—will take place on April first, 1991, said Mr. Iacob Zelenco, secretary of state at the Finance Ministry, at a press conference today. Mr. Zelenco pointed out that the second stage had been first scheduled for December 31, and had been postponed for three months owing to the incomplete process of price negotiations for products other than basic foods, medicines, soap, detergents, children's products, etc., and that it was possible to maintain prices unchanged only through subsidies from the state budget. Another problem arises from the retail prices of the basic foods, unchanged for nine years, as only in 1990 the contracting and acquisition prices for these products rose with 11 to 98 per cent, thus compelling the state to spend 34 billion lei to subsidise them. It is no longer possible to maintain these retail prices unchanged, and it would be uneconomic. Thus, starting April first the retail prices will have to include the 1990 rise of the contracting and acquisition prices for agricultural products and the additions to these prices after November first, 1990, brought about by the peasants' need to compensate for rising costs in energy, fuel, transports. Several price modification alternatives were taken into consideration, said Mr. Zelenco.

In his turn Mr. Mihu-Miron Biji, secretary of state, head of the Social Protection Department in the Ministry of Labour and Social protection, showed that, in general, the social protection granted to compensate for the prices increase after April first would be similar to the previous one, i.e. undiscriminating. According to the alternative we shall adopt we shall determine the actual amounts of this compensation—said Mr. Biji, who mentioned that the calculations were made starting from the family budget, and that the social protection would only cover the basic products. "We are trying to provide for the citizens' consumption at the level it had attained before the first price liberalisation, and start from two types of family budget: the employee's and the pensioner's, and function of the figures we get we correct and grant increases so they can buy the same amount of products they used to buy in 1990. We must also find additional forms of social protection for the social categories which cannot protect themselves, such as pensioners and young people over 16—who no longer get the state allowance.

Dijmarescu, EEC's Andriessen Discuss Cooperation

AU1203140091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1317 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/3/1991—The series of political and economic contacts of Mr. Frans Andriessen, vice-president of the EEC Commission, external relations commissioner, started on Tuesday with an interview at the government's headquarters with Mr. Eugen Dijmarescu, minister of state in charge of economic orientation. Aspects were approached of the cooperation between Romania and the EEC, along with modalities of implementing and extending the "PHARE" [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] programme in this country.

The talks are attended by Mr. Petre Rares, undersecretary of state in the Romanian Agency for the Promotion of Foreign Investment.

Dijmarescu Comments on Talks

AU1303121491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1100 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 13/3/1991—Minister of State Eugen Dijmarescu told the news conference held at the end of Mr. Andriessen's visit to Romania:

"During the interviews with Romania's president, with members of the government, we discussed and reviewed the development of democracy in Romania, the evolution of the economic reform and the intentions and determination of the current government.

Today we signed a framework-agreement between the European Community and Romania, covering the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] Program for Romania. Its having allotted 90 million ECU [European Currency Units] to Romania for this year confirms the attitude of the Community since the beginning of last year in helping and supporting the Romanian people, starting with humanitarian aid for the handicapped, orphanages, hospitals, and medical aid. Food aid was also essential. On behalf of the Romanian Government I want to express our sincere thanks to the European Community for this solidarity.

Surely this is one step on a long road. At the beginning of March the Agreement on Trade and Economic Cooperation between the European Community and Romania was ratified, which is opening another way of promoting bilateral relations, in the sense that Romania is strengthening its ties with the Community.

Negotiations and discussions were held between Romanian authorities and the European Investments Bank, extending our cooperation to the financial field, creating a new dimension, a new opportunity to take advantage of the experience and capacity of the Community to implement this program of assistance in Europe. But one of the most important and significant aspects is the role the Community plays as coordinator of the "Group of 24."

This is a long-term project, the clearest sign that the member countries of the Group of 24 are ready to make efforts to raise the Central and East-European countries to what they deserve, namely democracy, market economy, pluralism.

Therefore, we may say that [the visit] of Frans Andriessen, European Community external relations commissioner, was an opportunity for us to review a lot of things, including democracy, [and] the progress made in drawing up the new constitution, in implementing the laws and acts passed by the parliament. We need an infusion of novelty, of a different type and way of thinking, what is developing in this country should be considered at European scale.

We are determined to do so and in our cooperation with the European Community we want to prove by deeds—and the agreement signed today is significant in this respect—that Romania will truly become an European country.

Iliescu, Nastase Meet Andriessen

AU1203182691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1741 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/3/1991—President Ion Iliescu of Romania received Tuesday afternoon Frans Andriessen, vice-president of the EEC Commission, in charge of external relations.

After the talks the guest, whose visit to Romania is the last stage of a tour to east European countries, stated that an accord on the PHARE [Economic Restructuring Aid for Poland and Hungary] programme of assistance for Romania was to be signed in the afternoon after a first round of talks on its implementation. He also said that following a recent decision of granting Romania and Bulgaria one hundred million ECU's [European Currency Units] worth of foodstuffs and medicines the relevant EEC bodies were to carry that decision into effect as soon as possible. On the other hand Mr. Andriessen stressed he came to Romania to see for himself how the reform, democratization and transition to a market economy were being implemented. He assessed the talks as promising, those regarding the stage of the draft constitution, which sanctions the fact that democratization makes progress, in particular. He also said that was highly important for Romania and imparted a positive course to Romania's relations with the Common Market, considering that he had useful talks with President Ion Iliescu, with the other Romanian officials.

In connection with the possibility of Romania's becoming a full member of the EEC, Mr. Andriessen assessed that it was premature to discuss it and that was valid for the other east European countries as well.

Romania's president stated in his turn: I think that Mr. Andriessen's visit has a certain significance in the context of what has happened since the beginning of this year at the level of both the Council of Europe and the Common Market. After the ratification of the trade accord between Romania and the Common Market and the Common Market's extending the PHARE programme to Romania as well, the delegation led by Mr. Andriessen actually sanction these agreements. As a matter of fact this afternoon the government headquarters will host the signing of the accord between Romania and the Common Market. Theirs is a goodwill mission crowning these joint efforts and laying the bases of a future agreement between Romania and the Common Market.

The interview was attended by Eugen Dijmarescu, minister of state in charge of economic guidance. Present was also Coen F. Stork, ambassador of the Netherlands to Bucharest.

On Tuesday, March 12, as part of his visit to Bucharest, Mr. Frans Andriessen, vice-president of the EEC Commission, in charge with foreign relations, also met with the Romanian minister of foreign affairs, Adrian Nastase.

Approach was made of the questions concerning the possibilities to conclude long- and medium-term agreements between Romania and "the 12." They also discussed the question of achieving the necessary framework for an association agreement between Romania and the European Economic Community. Another question approached during the interview was the possibility for Romania to form specialists in communitary activity as well as for the EEC to grant facilities to this end.

PHARE Agreement Signed

AU1203204591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1933 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/3/1991—A frame-agreement on the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] assistance programme for Romania was signed in Bucharest by Eugen Dijmarescu, minister of state for economic orientation, and Frans Andriessen, vice president of the EEC Commission, in charge of foreign relations, in the presence of the persons accompanying the latter and, on the Romanian side, Adrian Nastase, minister of foreign affairs, Constantin Fota, minister of trade and tourism, and other officials.

'Open Skies' Negotiations Begin With Hungary

AU1203135791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1240 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/3/1991—Today, the talks between Romanian and Hungarian foreign ministry expert teams, including military specialists, have started in Bucharest, to complete the two countries' negotiations on the "open skies" bilateral agreement.

The proceedings are expected to be concluded Wednesday, 13 March, 1991.

* Cuts in Hungarian TV Programs Reviewed

91BA0289B Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 8 Feb 91 p 1

[B. Mihai article: "Immune to Democracy"]

[Text] Only a few days after Romania was granted observer status by the European Parliament—thus paving its way to economic aid on the basis of personal assurances received from our prime minister that we are not likely to choose any path but that of democracy and a free market—the neocommunist rulers have taken new totalitarian measures.

The first person who had the "honor" of opening up this new trail toward the abyss was Mr. Razvan Theodorescu, chairman of the Romanian Radio and Television who, in a so-called conversation with reporter Hamza (why was Mr. Marinescu not called in?) announced changes in TV programming aimed at more profitable and economical operations, which are of course laudable goals. It was announced, however, that when programs were cut, inevitably the most thorny show was eliminated, namely "Viewpoints," and the Hungarian and German language broadcasts were shortened. The arguments given were downright embarrassing: that the country now needs peace and quiet to prepare for the elections scheduled to be held 18 months hence (a "president for our peace"), that those government opposition broadcasts had anyway lost their interest, that when warranted the station will organize joint debates (with the present parliamentary parity?), but that Messrs. Iliescu, Roman, and the other prominent authorities will be able to have their say and show their smiles (along with the customary lies and slander) whenever the spirit moves them!

As for the Hungarian language broadcasts, Mr. Theodorescu began with a gross piece of disinformation: The number of hours of broadcasting will remain the same, but half will be on channel I and half on channel II, silently passing over the fact that one hour in four of the overall broadcasts was cut and that channel II cannot be seen in areas in which Hungarians make up the majority.

Other than that, Mr. Theodorescu talked about advertising, entertainment, autonomy, management board, old equipment, and efforts and painted a tragi-comic neorealistic picture that only Ninja Turtle fans may believe.

It would seem that the government perceived this credibility gap, too; its spokesman, Mr. B.B., reinforced the assertions of those in charge of visual and written indoctrination with even more convincing arguments. To hear him talk, our poor government will experience the absence of the weekly 60 minutes of opposition as a drawback because the FSN [National Salvation Front] opponents were in the habit of discrediting themselves, were sterile fabrications concocted by former PCR [Romanian Communist Party] activists. For the authorities, democracy means presenting all their so-called necessary measures for this period without any comment from any quarter, selecting only idyllic images from its own activities, and "offering," no doubt, destabilizing factors from among those who do not share their views.

Mr. B.B. also announced that the government has decided to allocate some of the free energy that Romania receives from Germany for these "wonderful" totalitarian-type stabilizing programs.

Further in its "entertainment" program, the TV introduced the FSN leader, freshly back from Davos where he allegedly met with other responsible economic officials from former socialist countries, equally dissatisfied with the aid received from the West. Except that the living standard in all those countries is clearly higher than in Romania, something that Mr. Roman forgot to mention! On the other hand, he did not forget to recall the fact that Romania cannot now penetrate various markets (omitting the quality of our products) and must consequently turn its attention to the markets it once had (i.e., under Ceausescu), no doubt meaning China, North Korea, and the Third World! Obviously an economic program identical to those of the FSN predecessors who brought Romania to the "golden era" that made its presence felt through the same boons as the present: no heat or hot water in apartments or at working places, no natural gas, no coal (where are the miners?), no food, no clothes, no shoes, etc., etc.

And to make sure that our cup runneth over, we were also shown on TV the "president of our peace" on a working visit to the Semanatoarea enterprise. Two of the women workers went as far as to kiss him, others shook his hand, but any talk of a contract with Fiat was on 'mute,' which is progress compared to the [past] wooden manner of speech.

So, coming back to the objectivity, independence, and freedom of Romanian TV, we note that the presence of ruling idols is competing with companies like Goldstar and Bucharest-Berlin. It is true that they are not for sale either for dollars or at 1001 Items stores; they are still the same good Romanians who, with their own forces (the Romanian Intelligence Service, the Interior Ministry, the gendarmery, the miners, etc.) will ensure a bright future for the country, even if for that they have to go back to a single, guiding party. So, Europe, farewell!

Reportage on Roman's Latin America Visit

WA1203140091

For reportage regarding the visit to Chile, Ecuador, and Brazil by Prime Minister Roman, including his talks with Chilean President Aylwin, see the relevant sections of the 12 March Latin America DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Markovic Speech at Presidency Session

LD1103204291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1503 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—I believe that we will greatly regret that these events came about. They should not have come about at all. I would say that several mistakes were made here that likewise should not have been made. It seems to me, although I have partially heard this here too, that the assessment of the situation was not appropriate, and that in connection with the evaluation of the situation appropriate measures that might have softened the impact of the rebellion, in other words the unrest of the people, were not taken. I believe, and I am expressing not only my own opinion but also the stances of other members of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], that the clashes and the use of force should not have come about at all. I believe that all this is counterproductive, terribly counterproductive for the processes of change that are occurring in the country. It is counterproductive both for Serbia and for all relations in the country, FEC President Ante Markovic stressed at yesterday's SFRY presidency session. (The FEC president's speech was released to TANJUG today.)

Markovic said in his speech that he believes that it is not a good thing that Stjepan Mesic and Dr. Janez Drnovsek are not attending the session. There should have been insistence that they too come to the session, the FEC president said.

Markovic stressed in his speech: I believe that there should have been a good deal of thought given to whether to engage the Yugoslav People's Army or not. I must say, as on the last occasion, that the FEC president was not consulted about this.

The use of the Army should possibly be resorted to when it is a matter of interrepublican and interethnic relations and conflicts. The use of the Army in circumstances other than these can be considered interference in the country's political relations—something which we will not be able in any way to prove is not the case. I believe that the tanks and armored vehicles should certainly be withdrawn as soon as possible and that there is no need whatsoever for them to continue to remain in Belgrade.

I believe that it is essential to undertake measures that will lead to further calm—calming the situation in the first instance by applying democratic methods and developing democracy. I believe that there should certainly be attempts to transfer the debate to the Serbian Assembly, regardless of the extent to which this would please someone or not. I would, it seems to me, have sufficient strength if I were in the Serbian leadership's position, to sit down with the opposition and hold talks with it. Everything should be done to ensure the further peaceful development of events. Let this remain one bad episode in everything that is happening in the country. I also believe, as a result, that an investigation should be carried out that will establish what the course of events was and what their dynamics were for the sake of future experience, so everyone will know the full truth.

When this protest meeting was being held, did the police attack these people first, or did they attack first? Perhaps this is not decisive in the course of events, but it is not negligible, the FEC president stressed.

It is my assessment that it is not a good thing that Draskovic is imprisoned, because believe me, in this way he is transformed into a hero and a martyr. For my part, I suggest that it would be a good thing to undo this action. Otherwise I must say that we, with this communication via the Secretariat for Internal Affairs, have cooperated with the government of Serbia, and tried to act to calm the situation. The course of events took on such a dimension that it was no longer possible to influence it. After all, when things started as they started, no one was any longer either prepared or able to listen. Very important things are happening—too important for us to be able to resolve these relations, regardless of what lay behind them, with the police alone or in general by using force.

The FEC will certainly consider, from this aspect, everything that should be done: How to exert influence politically, democratically, and legislatively so things move toward the development of democracy; the continuation of reforms and not halting them. I believe that in this respect each of us should reexamine all the decisions that we have taken. I am also thinking here of those concrete decisions that have now been adopted, so we might see what should be corrected and so the impact of the negative emotions that are tending to grow further might be cushioned to the maximum extent. You know that when they begin to grow then they cannot be cured by force. Other methods must be used, Markovic assessed.

Apart from this we must be principled. People cannot be permitted to organize a protest meeting as they please while others are banned from doing so.

There is a certain tradition in using protest meetings for destructive purposes. Even the space in front of the FEC is used—Seselj, the protest meeting of women and truck drivers. All this was permissible when it suits someone, and when it does not suit someone it is not. Well, you cannot operate like this or be principled in this way, Markovic pointed out.

Much wisdom is required of all of us, and moreover, from the Serbian leadership. This is a fact and it should be faced up to. The leadership of Serbia now bears great responsibility for the fate not only of the reforms but also for the future of Yugoslavia. It must be conscious of this responsibiliuty. A battle for Yugoslavia is being waged here. I can say that the FEC, in searching for solutions starting from its own orientations, will be absolutely disposed toward us working together on everything we should so we ensure the continuation of reforms and democracy and so we save Yugoslavia.

We will have to find time to hold talks on everything in a way that will really mean that the outcomne of events in the country is going down a peaceful, democratic, and reform-orientated path. There will be many who will want to prevent this and exploit it in a counterproductive way. There should be no doubt about this at all.

After all, if this were not the case things would not have been happening as they are happening.

At the same time let us look at other crisis points and flashpoints that can be exploited. What has happened in Belgrade could be a spark that will cause an explosion throughout the country, and it could also represent a warning that we must reexamine all our actions, policies, and everything else on the spot and see what we must do to channel these emotions that have grown into a force that is present throughout the country in a positive and nondestructive way.

That would be it for now. I believe that these few concrete things, which should be done now, can have a positive impact to this end and should be exploited, if I dare say it in this way, for a democratic affiramtion. This is not easy but it must be done, FEC President Ante Markovic said at yesterday's SFRY Presidency session.

Army Responds to Markovic's Army Criticism

LD1203160991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1451 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 12 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Army today underscored that it was acting under orders from the collective head of state of Yugoslavia and not in response to "republican, party, or individual stands, wishes or ideas."

This statement by the army is an answer to criticisms voiced by Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic at the Yugoslav State Presidency session on Sunday, on the occasion of the exit of army armored vehicles and tanks into the streets of Belgrade during Saturday's unrests in the Yugoslav capital.

Markovic said that the use of force at the demonstrations on March 9 in Belgrade was counter-productive to the process of the Yugoslav reforms. Markovic assessed that the presence of the army could be interpreted as "interference of the army in political relations in the country," and that he had not been consulted about such use of the armed forces.

Saturday's exit of army units, which were withdrawn the next day, was also criticized by Yugoslav State Presidency Vice-President Stipe Mesic of Croatia and Yugoslav State Presidency member from Slovenia Janez Drnovsek.

Armed Forces Command To Meet 14 March

LD1203233391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2310 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Statement by SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic in Belgrade on 12 March]

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—"An SFRY Presidency session was held tonight. The presidency met in its capacity of supreme commander of our country's Armed Forces.

"The staff of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces presented an appraisal of the state of our country's security and of the functioning of its constitutional system and proposed that the presidency adopt appropriate measures.

"No agreement was reached on the measures.

"At the end of the session I asked the staff of the supreme command of the SFRY Armed Forces to consider and to set out by tomorrow what they believe should be proposed or undertaken in the present situation.

"In this connection, I have convened a new session of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces to meet on Thursday 14 March.

"Our citizens can be sure that our Armed Forces guarantee our country's peace, security, and constitutional system."

Defense Secretariat Statement on Army Role

LD1203154191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1324 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—In connection with the position of Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic, set out at a session of the SFRY Presidency on 10 March and published in the media, and regarding the statement of some federal and republican officials on the engagement and role of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] in calming the destructive demonstrations in Belgrade, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense Information Department is authorized to announce the following:

"The role of the JNA is regulated in precise terms in the SFRY Constitution and federal laws. The JNA is engaged and its tasks carried out on the basis of decisions and orders of the SFRY Presidency as the collective supreme commander of the Armed Forces, not on the basis of any republican, party, or individual stances, wishes, or conceptions."

President Jovic Calls Urgent Presidency Session

LD1203142491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1318 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Statement by SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic in Belgrade on 12 March]

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)— "I want to inform all citizens of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav public that the work of the SFRY Presidency, as the entity most responsible for the situation in the country, is paralyzed to such an extent that under these dramatic circumstances, it has in practical terms ceased to perform its constitutional obligations and responsibilities.

"A session of the Federal Council for the Protection of the Constitutional Order, that had been scheduled for yesterday and that was to examine the state of security, had been threatened for a long time in many parts of the country. The session should have prepared proposals for the SFRY Presidency session that is scheduled for tomorrow. The session of the council was not held because of the lack of a quorum, that makes it impossible to hold the SFRY Presidency session tomorrow.

"A regular session of the SFRY Presidency was planned for today with the presidents of the republics and autonomous provinces to resume discussions about the country's political future. This session has had to be postponed due to a boycott by some SFRY Presidency members and some of those who had been invited to the session.

"Under such circumstances and at the request of the Federal Secretary for National Defense, I have convened an emergency session of the SFRY Presidency in its capacity of the supreme commander of the Armed Forces. This session will be held immediately. The public will be informed about any decisions of the supreme command of the Armed Forces in due course."

Federal Excecutive Council Calls For Restraint

LD1203172191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1658 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—During an emergency session held on 12 March 1991, the Federal Executive Council [FEC] made the appraisal that Yugoslavia is in a critical period of implementing the reform in carrying out the transition to multiparty democracy and a market economy, respect for human rights, and full openness to the world.

The problems we are experiencing are complex and difficult, but the FEC believes they can be overcome in a democratic way and without the use of force.

Proceeding from its responsibility for the situation in the country vested in it by the constitution, the FEC calls on the citizens of all nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia, state leaderships, and all the parties in power and in opposition to work for and concretely to contribute to a peaceful, sensible, and democratic resolution of the crisis and the quest for new reform solutions.

For the sake of mutual respect and the further development of common trust, restraint must be exercised to prevent moves likely to exacerbate relations in the country. Peace and security for citizens and their property must be insured. By taking advantage of the institutions and instruments of multiparty pluralism in a democratic state, we shall and must commit ourselves to and carry out measures to resolve the crisis and to improve the quality of life that the people of Yugoslavia, as part of both developed Europe and the world, deserve.

The FEC and the federal administrative bodies will steadfastly continue to carry out their functions in line with the SFRY Constitution and federal laws. The FEC will insist that all institutions of the system continue to function and carry out their tasks.

The FEC believes that discussion about all issues, even the most controversial ones, should immediately be transferred to the SFRY Assembly, and to this end permanent sessions of the assembly bodies should be organized.

TANJUG Demands Censorship Claim Retraction

LD1203013291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1300 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 11 (TANJUG)—The editorial board of the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG on Monday requested the German news agency (DPA) to make public its incorrect claim which said TANJUG reports on the demonstrations in Belgrade were "obviously censored."

Pointing out that the German news agency's claim was groundless and made public without any substantiation, the TANJUG editorial board warned that the DPA, by way of its false report, wrongly informed its subscribers and damaged the reputation of the Yugoslav news agency.

To remove the resulting damage and enable unimpeded continuation of cooperation between the two agencies, TANJUG editorial board has demanded that the DPA in its domestic and world services make public the correction without delay.

Belgrade Citizens, Intellectuals Issue Appeal

LD1203030691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0227 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—A group of 30 citizens, among them leading Belgrade intellectuals, tonight issued an appeal to the Serbian public demanding the urgent establishment of all democratic institutions.

Signatories of the appeal, which was handed to TANJUG tonight, hold that on 9 March the streets of Belgrade saw brutal clashes between the police and citizens, whose only intention was to express through peaceful demonstrations their disapproval of the general media manipulation in this republic.

The appeal further notes that the complete blockade of the independent media and propaganda terror waged by the official media are aimed at laying all blame for the past events on the organizers of and participants in the demonstrations.

Signatories of the appeal—among the Matija Beckovic, Ratko Bozovic, Gojko Djogo, David Albahari, Vladeta Jankovic, Miroslav Josic Visnjic, Leon Kojen, Zarko Karic, Dusan Kovacevic, Danilo Lazovic, Borislav Mihajlovic Mihiz, Dragoslav Mihajlovic, Vida Ognjenovic, Mica Popovic, Borislav Pekic, Rajko Petrov Nogo, Aleksandar Petrovic, Slobodan Samardzic, Slobodan Selenic, Ljubomir Simovic, and Gojko Tesic—hold that it is necesary for the Serbian public to sharply oppose the brutal methods deployed in the governing of our state.

Director Charged With 'Calling For Resistance'

LD1203040391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1551 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Statement by Belgrade District Public Prosecutor Milos Aleksic in Belgrade on 11 March]

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Criminal charges in a competent court have not been brought against the responsible workers of independent television Studio-B and Radio B-92. This means that the court has not adopted any kind of measures banning their activity.

Aleksic stresses that internal affairs units on Saturday 9 March brought charges against the chief and executive editor of Studio-B, Dragan Kojadinovic, for the criminal act of calling for resistance. The charges state that the independent television called on citizens to resist the measures of the responsible state services regarding the demonstrations in the cpaital.

In the charges, the request is made that the prosecutor propose in the criminal procedure that temporary measures for the confiscation of television tapes and equipment for broadcasting be applied against the independent television, as objects used for carrying out the criminal act—with the stipulation that the equipment, though its use is banned, remain in the possession of Studio-B.

Aleksic stressed that these criminal charges did not provide the prosecutor's office with sufficient data and proof for a decision. The third municipal prosecutor's office thus requested from the internal affairs services that they collect the necessary reports, so the allegations in the charges might be clarified, and register the dispatched data and proof required for confirmation of the truth of the allegations.

Criminal charges for the same criminal act were also brought on 9 March against Veran Matic, chief and executive editor of Radio B-92. The same procedure was carried out today, as in the previous case.

Aleksic stressed that the internal affairs services are otherwise, in accordance with the law, authorized to confiscate temporarily, for the purpose of securing proof, objects connected with the carrying out of a criminal act.

Leftist Parties From Republics Appeal for Calm

LD1203070891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1624 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 11 (TANJUG)—Leaders of leftist parties of four Yugoslav republics today appealed for "peace, demilitarization, democracy, and a depoliticization of the Yugoslav People's Army, and against the use conflicts, force and weapons to resolve the Yugoslav crisis." Presidents of the Parties of Democratic Changes (former Leagues of Communists) of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, Slovenia, and Macedonia—Nijaz Durakovic, Ivica Racan, Ciril Ribicic and Petar Gosev, respectively—today issued a joint statement in reaction to the demonstrations by opposition parties and students in Belgrade.

The statement urges that the "Army return to the barracks, that the arrested opposition leaders be released, and that conditions be set for an equal and public political dialogue."

The statement also appeals to "all democratic forces and all people of good will in Yugoslavia to contribute to the setting of conditions for the signing of a new historic accord between the sovereign republics on Yugoslavia, without unilateral political moves and further unnecessarily aggravating the situation."

'Agents' Interspersed in Student Demonstration

LD1203074191 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Excerpts] In the center of Belgrade, in Terazije, student demonstrations have continued for more than 24 hours. HINA [Croatian News Agency] reports that the students' crowd contains numerous provocateurs and agents in civilian clothes, but students' guards are maintaining order, not giving any opportunity for the regime to intervene. The students are dissatisfied with decisions of the Serbian Assembly, the session of which was adjourned this morning around 0500, and should resume around 1400. [passage omitted]

The tension is rising, but for the moment, without a large police presence and without incidents.

No Soldiers Among Demonstrators

LD1203080691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2315 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—It has been learned that "the organizers" of the Belgrade demonstrations claimed tonight that a group of soldiers was among them. According to a denial issued by the information service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, this is a pure fabrication aimed at deceiving the participants in the meeting and the public. This claim presents a calculated, crude, and malicious attempt to manipulate the Army members, the denial of the secretariat's information service states.

Opposition Deputies Join Students in Strike

LD1203092191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0842 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 12 (TANJUG)—Students of Belgrade University who have been on strike for over 24 hours in Belgrade's central avenue were joined early this morning after 0400 by opposition deputies.

The deputies of several opposition parties, which hold less than 25 percent of the total of 250 seats in the legislature, in protest walked out of the special session of the Serbian Assembly devoted to the causes of the clashes between the police and the demonstrators last Saturday and a program containing seven student demands.

The students demanded the resignation of the Serbian interior minister, an end to the information blockade, the resignation of the bosses of Belgrade television and the release of over 200 persons arrested following Saturday's riots.

Some of the arrested persons, including leader of the main opposition party the Serbian Renewal Movement (SRM) [SPO] author Vuk Draskovic (45), have already received 30-day prison sentences, according to claims made by the opposition.

An opposition deputy said that the deputies of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia stayed on to rule in a single-party legislature while another said that the opposition in the legislature serves as a facade to the ruling party. "No one can prevent the coming of democracy, it can only be delayed for a brief moment," the deputy said.

The special legislative session, which lasted 11 hours, was assessed by some of the opposition deputies as "unheard-of", during which their colleagues of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) expressed "shocking cynicism" and "moral insensitivity" toward the student strike in Belgrade's central avenue.

Borisav Pekic, a prominent Serbian author and academician, last night concluded that "the communist minority wished to destroy the beginnings of legislative democracy. When one fights for freedom by walking out of the legislature, then that freedom does not exist," Pekic said.

Some 2,000 rallied students, who stayed on in the streets despite the cold weather, announced they would continue the general strike and remain in Belgrade's Terazije Avenue.

Nis Students Not Satisfied; Protests Continue

LD1203095491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0916 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Nis, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—Nis University students are not satisfied with the outcome of the extraordinary session of the National Assembly of Serbia regarding students' demands, so this morning they continued their peaceful demonstrations in the city center.

Expressing solidarity with the students of Belgrade University, the students in Nis announced a boycott of lectures until the students' demands are completely fulfilled.

Number of Demonstrators Increasing

AU1203103791 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Zarko Simovic report from Terazije]

[Text] [Simovic] The peaceful protest by students and an increasing number of Belgrade citizens is still under way in Terazije. Students of several Belgrade secondary schools have also joined the protest. An ever increasing number of telegrams and messages of support have been received. Among others, messages of support have been sent by Belgrade taxi and bus drivers, as well as many prominent citizens of the capital and Serbia.

It is still peaceful in Terazije. Traffic from the direction of Slavija is circulating undisturbed, while traffic from the direction of the Republic Square has been halted due to the increasing number of demonstrators.

It has been reiterated once again that the peaceful demonstrations will not be stopped until all the demands that have been set are met.

Students Number 10,000; Workers Join

AU1203104491 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0956 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Zorica Pantelic report]

[Text] There are more than 10,000 students in the area of Terazije at the moment. Large groups of secondary school children coming from all directions are joining them. Telegrams of support are being read: from the Mathematical Grammar School, the Technical Secondary School, the Construction Secondary School, the Archaeological Institute....

The students have just been addressed by writer Borislav Pekic, who was greeted with tempestuous applause. I have a meeting at the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts at 1100, Pekic said, but we are not going to talk about the topic planned to be discussed, but about you, future graduates. Borislav Pekic then added: Thank you for doing something for which we had no courage.

The girl at the rostrum has just said that workers are also coming to the area of Terazije. We cannot check that because we are standing under the monument, that is, the fountain, so we cannot see it, but the news that the students are joined by workers was received here with ovations and delight.

Student Protests in Belgrade, Nis

LD1203113991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1048 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 12 (TANJUG)—Several thousand students are demonstrating in Belgrade today, for the third day running, resolved to remain in the city's central square Terazije until their demands are met, as they set out.

The students are dissatisfied with the outcome of the last night's session of the Serbian legislature, at which the student demands were discussed.

Belgrade students, whose protest has been joined by students in Novi Sad, Nis, and Kragujevac, presented seven demands two days ago. The students demand the resignations of Serbian Interior Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic, the lifting of the media blockade, the resignations of Belgrade television bosses, and the release of all 200 demonstrators arrested during the Saturday unrest in the capital.

At around 0900 hours local time today, larger groups of Belgrade secondary school students began joining the students in Terazije square, although the school authorities have threatened to expel them.

The student protest is peaceful and well organized. Students are constantly warned not to fall prey to provocations.

Siding with students of the University of Belgrade, students in Nis, southwestern Serbia, have announced a boycott of classes until the student demands are met in full.

Pristina Students Offer Support

AU1203113291 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Students of the Pristina University who attend classes held in Serbo-Croatian support the demands issued by their colleagues from the Belgrade University and stands of that University's Teachers Council. This has been pointed out in the telegram of support that about 300 students rallied at the Pristina University Rector's building have sent to their colleagues in Belgrade.

It was explicitly demanded at the meeting that any party influence should be avoided.

After the meeting, which lasted one hour, the students left in peace.

Primary, Secondary Classes Suspended

LD1203134591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1241 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—Classes in primary and secondary schools in Belgrade will not be held until further notice.

The city secretariat for education has announced that such a decision was made following demands by numerous parents and with a view toward "protection of pupils from possible violent actions by individuals and groups in the city."

Protesters Increase to 30,000

AU1203144091 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Radovan Pantovic report from Terazije Street in Belgrade on 12 March]

[Text] [Pantovic] Student demonstrations are still going on in Terazije. They are being held in an orderly manner without incident. Artists, writers, poets, students, and workers are coming one after another to address the crowd. The main point of all messages is to continue the protest until the students' demands have been completely met.

The law school's teachers council has just sent a telegram in which it says that it is stopping lectures as a protest and in support of students demands.

Atanasije Jeftic informed the students that the funeral of fellow student Branimir Milovanovic, who died tragically, will be held tomorrow in the New Cemetery at 1300.

Workers are also occasionally coming to the rostrum and are expressing support for the students' demands. Balconies of the surrounding buildings are full of people. The number of people currently here is about 30,000, at least that is how many can be seen in the immediate vicinity.

Titograd Students Join Protest

AU1203154491 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Jagos Stojanovic report from Titograd on 12 March]

[Excerpt] A meeting of students and professors who support the demands of their colleagues from Belgrade and other Serbian cities is under way at the Titograd Veljko Vlahovic University.

[Stojanovic] Several thousand students and professors have rallied at the lecture hall of the Technical Faculties of the Titograd University. As the first speaker, Radoslav Jokic, put it, it is out of humane and not party or ideological reasons that they support the demands of the students of Serbia and above all condemn the crude use of force in the streets of Belgrade. With a minute of silence, the students paid tribute to the victims of violence and then, unanimously supported all known demands of the Serbian students with applause. [passage omitted]

Chamber of Republics Postponed Pending Decision

LD1203111991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1006 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—Until a decision arrives from the SFRY Presidency on the cessation of the engagement of the Army in connection with the events in Belgrade on 9 March, upon which the delegation of Slovenia insists, the session of several committees of the SFRY assembly's Chamber of Republics and Provinces will be postponed from today "until further notice."

At a meeting this morning, Dr. Miran Majak, president of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, and the head of the delegations of the federal units expressed hope that a reply from the Presidency will arrive quickly so working groups can meet as early as noon.

Martin Mlinar, head of the Slovene delegation, was categorical in saying that no Slovene delegate will participate in the work of the committee "until the Presidency, in the way in which it announced the engagement, announces its decision to suspend the engagement of the Army."

Aleksandr Mitrovic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, stressed that "there are no reasons whasoever for the assembly committees not to work, because all the security conditions exist for this." As is well-known, Mitrovic added, the Army deployed Saturday into the streets of Belgrade sometime after 1900. The Army withdrew on Sunday at 1600. [passage omitted]

Federal Presidency Session Canceled

LD1203121291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1150 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—The session of the SFRY Presidency planned for today, which should have continued the examination of the political future of the country, was not held because the majority of the SFRY Presidency members and other invited participants were not able to attend the session.

This was made public today by the SFRY Presidency information service.

Belgrade Television Directors Agree To Resign

LD1203131191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1240 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—The management of Belgrade Television, headed by Director General Dusan Mitevic, resigned from their posts today. Republican Minister of Culture Radomir Bajo Saranovic informed the students who have gathered in Terazije of this.

According to him, the Serbian government requested at today's session the resignation of Dusan Mitevic, Sergej Sestakov, Predrag Vitas, Ivan Krivec, and Slavko Budihna because of the demands of the Serbian public. The leaders have decided to resign. The minister added that a session of the republican government is under way.

The students in Terazije greeted these words with whistles and shouts of "let our Vuk and others who have been arrested go."

Amid the general noise, Radomir Saranovic tried to explain that the other demands of the students are being dealt with by the appropriate authorities, but the students did not hear him.

Video Recordings of Police Shootings Shown

LD1203162891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1534 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 12 (TANJUG)—Video recordings of the police shooting at demonstrators in Belgrade on Saturday were shown here on Tuesday, at a press conference of the Serbian National Front, an opposition coalition outside the legislature.

The film shot by a cameraman of one of the parties, the Serbian People's Renewal, shows a group of policemen shooting at demonstrators some 50 to 100 metres away.

The moment when Branivoje Milinovic was killed was not recorded, but his body is clearly seen lying on the pavement and being carried into the ambulance.

The Serbian People's Renewal, its president Mirko Jovic said, offers these recordings and the whole one-hour material shot in Saturday's demonstrations to the public at home and abroad for the purpose of establishing the truth about what happened.

A policeman and a demonstrator were killed, and over 100 people were injured in the demonstrations.

We want to know who ordered the shooting, stressed Jovic.

President of the Serbian St. Sava's party Dr. Zarko Gavrilovic claims to have seen the police firing rubber bullets, a girl losing one of her eyes and a man wounded on the top of his head.

Nine legislative opposition parties demand the unconditional resignation of the prime minister and the interior minister of Serbia, holding them exclusively responsible for the bloodshed and the material damage caused in the demonstrations.

They also want all demands from Saturday's demonstrations to be met and all detained opposition representatives released.

Novi Sad 'Meeting of Truth' Under Way

LD1203163591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1355 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—Nearly 8,000 people have gathered at the square outside the Vojvodina Sport and Business Center in Novi Sad at a "meeting of truth."

The aim of the demonstrations of 9 March in Belgrade was to secure access to the public information media, Vule Visnjevac, one of the Serbian Renaissance Movement leaders, said. The accusations against us of destructive intentions and attacks on the authorities are only a part of a scenario skillfully devised by the authorities.

Visnjevac spoke in detail about the Belgrade events of 9 March, claiming that the blame for everything that happened largely rested with the authorities and the police. [passage omitted]

On behalf of the students of Novi Sad University, Sanja Pavlica addressed the United Opposition meeting. She disassociated herself from the official student federation, stressing that the students' real demands amounted to the Vojvodina government, and of the leading managers of Novi Sad radio and TV and the editor of DNEVNIK. If our demands are not met within the next 48 hours, we will gather here again on Thursday at 1500, she said. [passage omitted]

Unkovic Claims Foreign Interference in Unrest

LD1203171591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1603 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 12 (TANJUG)—Belgrade Mayor Milorad Unkovic today accused foreign powers of trying to destroy Serbia and wanting to establish a puppet regime in this republic, whose capital is shaken by unrests since Saturday.

Unkovic made the above statement referring to the speech by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic at the extraordinary session of republican legislature yesterday, which Unkovic said gave grounds for such interpretations.

Unkovic told reporters that there were no concrete facts to back up such claims, but that even if there were they would not be made public.

The Belgrade mayor claims that, in addition to foreign powers, the Albanian opposition in Kosovo Province, as well as the ruling party in the Republic of Croatia, the Croatian Democratic Union of Franjo Tudjman, are also using the current student demonstrations in Belgrade to destroy Serbia.

Belgrade University Student Strike To Continue

LD1203192291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1752 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Report on news conference by Belgrade Student Federation President Aleksandar Nikacevic in Belgrade on 12 March]

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—Because all the students' demands have not yet been met, the general strike of Belgrade University students will continue. The students will not give up their demands, Nikacevic stated.

No one has the right to change or revamp the students' demands, Nikacevic said, adding that the students have been joined by school children and workers.

The students disassociate themselves from all those who have tried to misuse our rostrum. "Our revolt is an honorable one and we need no advisers or instructors." Nikacevic called on all political parties not to drag students into their conflict, stressing that the motives behind the student revolt have nothing to do with party affiliations.

The student leaders reminded the journalists of the chronology of the 9 March demonstrations in Belgrade. They stressed that the student delegation that met [Serbian President] Slobodan Milosevic yesterday told him, in no unambiguous terms, that they would not give up their demands. "It was our impression that the president did not question our demands, but he did appeal and insisted that all these issues be resolved with the help of relevant institutions as laid down by the Constitution. He also appealed for peace and common sense. We offered guarantees that the demonstrations would be peaceful."

The student leaders said that a number of the deputies in the Serbian Assembly are not qualified to deal with the present situatione. They repeated that their protest will continue to be peaceful and noted that they have received with concern reports about today's session of the SFRY Presidency and the possibility of a state of emergency.

Asked about the students' attitude to a possible state of emergency, the student leaders said that if it comes to that, they will call on students in all the republics to occupy their universities and continue the protest.

The student leaders, who in addition to Aleksandr Nikacevic include Zeljko Bjelajac and Zarko Jokanovic, former delegate in the Serbian Assembly, stated that the students are united and that there are no two leaderships or two delegations representing them.

Serbian Renaissance Leader Draskovic Released

AU1203184691 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1841 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] In practical terms, five of the seven demands that the Belgrade students made when they started their general strike have been met. We have unofficially learned this evening that Vuk Draskovic has been released from detention.

Draskovic Was 'Treated Fairly'

LD1203200291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1938 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—Serbian Renaissance Movement Chairman Vuk Draskovic was released from prison at about 2000 this evening and is now at home. Draskovic personally confirmed this in a brief telephone conversation with TANJUG.

"At about 1400 I was told that my detention order had been quashed. The investigating judge visited me at about 1630 to inform me of this. I was released from prison at about 2000 and consider myself now free, Draskovic said.

He stated that he had been treated fairly.

Meets Students, Calls For Peace

AU1203214291 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2120 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Dragan Mihovic report on student meeting in Belgrade on 12 March]

[Text] [Mihovic] There was great joy at the news that Vuk Draskovic had been released from prison. After half an hour, at around 2130, Vuk was in Terazije Street.

His first words were: Young Serbia, the Freedom of Serbia. He called on those present to pay their respects to those who died on 9 March with a minute's silence.

Then the whole meeting echoed with the words of an inestimable number of those present who shouted: Serbia, Serbia. Vuk then proposed that a monument be erected on the square to both the men who died with the inscription: Never again. He called for peace, reason, and Serbian harmony. Serbia after 9 March will not be the same as it was before it, Vuk said.

Urges Students Not To Disperse

LD1203234291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2225 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 12 (TANJUG)—Vuk Draskovic, head of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SRM) [SPO], this evening addressed students who have been demonstrating peacefully in central Belgrade since [words indistinct] the words that he had come to ask that "Serbia be united, that peace be returned to schools and towns, that reason prevail and that the feuding sides restore harmony."

However, the head of the strongest Serbian opposition party urged the students not to disperse until all of those arrested after last Saturday's violent clashes between Serbian opposition demonstrators and police are released from detention. One policeman and one protestor lost their lives in the clashes, and over 100 people were injured.

"I would be a hypocrite if I said thank you for extracting me from prison, you may now go to your homes," said Draskovic who was released today after spending three days in detenion on suspicion of organizing disturbances and violence in Belgrade.

The majority of our demands have been met and this is a victory, Draskovic said, adding that however this was not enough and that all those responsible for the March 9 bloodbath had to resign.

In any normal country when blood is shed the minister of police steps down, said Draskovic, whose speech was often interrupted by chants of "Slobodan Assassin," "Down with the murderers," and "Vuk, you are a Serb and Serbia is with you."

Draskovic said the SRM had not organized the current demonstrations and that they were a supra-party student protest.

The SRM leader told the students they were the future and that they would lead him rather than vice versa. I was the future in 1968 - we were the first generation then to rise against despotism, Draskovic said. Yugoslavia's president at the time Josip Broz Tito did not send tanks out into the streets at the time, he pointed out. The Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) never said "when we win at the elections we shall send tanks against our children," Draskovic said.

"Had you all known that then, the SPS would not have been victorious at the December 10 elections," said Draskovic.

Belgrade Students Threaten Indefinite Sit-In

LD1203200791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1832 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 12 (TANJUG)—The students of the Belgrade University who are currently protesting in central Belgrade on Tuesday afternoon said that they would stage an indefinite sit-in protest in the university administration building "if a state of emergency is declared in Serbia and Yugoslavia" and if tanks again go out into the streets.

This was their response to the news that the Yugoslav Presidency is today holding an extraordinary session with the general staff and top military officers.

Several thousand students are continuing their peaceful protest and their number is growing as secondary school students are joining in.

The [word indistinct] are being addressed by intellectuals, artists, actors and writers, who are encouraging the students to hold out.

Serbian poet Matija Beckovic told them not to fear beacuse "nobody has ever conquered youth, chastity, the unarmed and the innocent." "Everyone [words indistinct] down his arms before you," he said.

Dean of the theological school Atanasije Jeftic told the rally that Patiarch Pavle of the Serbian Orthodox Church was apologizing for calling them yesterday to disperse.

Belgrade students were today supported by their colleagues of the universities of Titograd (the Republic of Montenegro), Novi Sad (Province of Vojvodina) and Kragujevac (Republic of Serbia) as well as Macedonian students.

Will Remain Until All Demands Met

LD1303015491 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0100 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Sonja Badel reports from Belgrade on 13 March]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The students are not satisfied yet; that is, they will not leave Terazije street until Serbian Internal Affairs Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic resigns. The students hold him responsible for the violence used against demonstrators on 9 March. The students added another name to the list of people whose resignation they demand: Serbian Industry Minister Dusan Matkovic, who two days ago called on the participants of the Usce meeting—organized by the Serbian

Socialist Party—to come to the city center and disperse the students. The students will not disperse until all their demands are met.

Presently, the students are not making political speeches. Instead they are singing and dancing. Belgrade actors and artists are with them. At this very moment a big rock and roll concert has started.

15,000 at Terazije Street Rally

LD1303020291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0128 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—Although the organizational committee of the student demonstrations announced that the protest has ended, because the majority of student demands had been met, at around 0200 some 15,000 students are still on Terazije Street.

They are waiting for the resignation of Serbian Minister for Internal Affairs Radmilo Bogdanovic, and the release of all arrested demonstrators. Poets, actors, and artists are addressing the students. Judging from everything, the demonstrators will greet another dawn listening to well-known rock and roll bands, which will play for them. In breaks between songs, the unmet demands are being reiterated, and this is greeted with the enthusiastic approval of the demonstrators.

Serbian Opposition Issues Statement on Violence

LD1103210791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1446 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—"There are no grounds for accusing those who organized and took part in the violent demonstrations of 9 March. The responsibility lies with those who ordered violence to be used," the united opposition of Serbia said in a statement today.

The united opposition of Serbia demands the release from prison of Vuk Draskovic, Jovan Marjanovic and all those arrested on 9 March.

The statement also says that "the United Opposition reflects citizens' democratic aspirations and will continue to use all democratic means to resist the regime's propaganda and other forms of terror."

At an assembly of free citizens, convened for 12 March at 1500 the united opposition will explain its actions so far.

If the regime had any democratic inclinations it would have shown an interest in a dialogue with the opposition. This would have helped to avoid violence and casualties.

If the Serbian People's Assembly succumbs to pressure from the regime and lays the blame only on one side in the conflict while ignoring the demands of the opposition and the citizens, it will be held responsible for chaos and violence, the United Opposition stated.

Serbian Opposition Ready for Political Dialogue

LD1103232691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2209 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 11 (TANJUG)—Members of the Holy Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church and leaders of 21 Serbian opposition parties today said they "hope that the authorities and the opposition will find the way in the legislature and opt for opening political dialogue in the interest of Serbia and the Serbian people".

The meeting was held at the invitation of Serbian Patriarch Pavle and the Holy Synod, at the patriarchate in Belgrade. After adopting the patriarch's appeal for "common sense, mutual forgiveness and reconciliation", the party leaders said they are "ready for political dialogue with the authorities", says a statement released by the paties that attended the conference.

An appeal was made that, as a sign of good will and readiness for dialogue, President of the Serbian Renewal Movement Vuk Draskovic and all other detainees be released immediately, pending trial, "if criminal proceedings against them should be instituted", the statement says.

Assembly Session Marked by 'Tedious Speeches'

LD1203030291 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0100 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Croatian News Agency report from Belgrade on 12 March]

[Text] On Belgrade's Terazije Street, several thousand school children and students are continuing their peaceful demonstration, watching performances given for them by pop singers, actors, and writers, and listening to speeches by politicians. At the same time, in the Serbian Assembly, deputies of the ruling Serbian Socialist Party [SPS] are tiring out their colleagues from the ranks of the opposition parties, along with millions of television viewers, who are able to follow a live television relay of the session, with tedious speeches about the need for all Serbs to be united, because Serbs, like Jews, are surrounded by hatred. As demanded by the opposition, the session is being broadcast live. As the initial conflict between deputies of the opposition and the governing party is still under way, the state of emergency, emergency measures, and demands presented by the demonstrators have not yet been discussed.

When provoked, Chairman of the Democratic Party [DS] Dragoljub Micunovic replied that if the opposition were not necessary, it would not exist. If someone deems that it is not in the interest of the Serbs for the opposition to be in the legislature, we can oblige him.

Students on Terazije Street, fortunately or unfortunately, have no opportunity to follow this television broadcast. Who will tire first, the legislature or them? So far it is impossible to say.

Deputy's 'Rage' Forces Opposition to Walk Out

LD1203033291 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0301 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] First, what is happening in Belgrade. Unexpectedly, the emergency session of the Serbian Assembly was broken off 15 minutes ago. The reason for this was the crazed rage of a deputy from the Serbian Socialist Party, Zivorad Igic, caused partly by the sensible remarks made by a fellow party member, and partly by Igic's obvious inability to reply to opposition deputies at the same intellectual level.

Taking this as the last drop in a glass full of insults, the opposition deputies simply left the Assembly hall. As a result, Serbian Assembly President Slobodan Unkovic broke off the session for a recess, with the intention of keeping those oppositon deputies.

Opposition Quits Assembly; Discussion 'Fruitless'

LD1203035991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0331 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—The opposition deputies have at 0400 left the Serbian Assembly session, which was discussing the government report about the 9 March demonstrations and student demands. The opposition deputies did this out of dissatisfaction with the exhausting and fruitless discussion, which lasted for 10 hours.

Ostensibly the reason for leaving the Assembly hall was a tactless remark made by Zivorad Igic (SPS) [Serbian Socialist Party] that the opposition "has been for 10 hours wasting the Assembly's time." Serbian Assembly President Slobodan Unkovic was unable to influence the opposition decision to walk out of the session. On several occasions he otherwise evinced good will in meeting student demands.

In short statements to the press, the opposition deputies assessed the session as "unheard of." Mihajlo Kovac said that the student demands are practically watered down, which according to him shows the well-known style of the authorities. Radomir Urosevic said that Slobodan Rakitic, chairman of the club of deputies of the Serbian Renaissance Movement—which was accused of being guilty of the undesirable consequences of the 9 March demonstrations—could not speak before 0400. He also claimed that the speaking order was altered.

The opposition deputies stated that they are heading for Terazije Street to inform the students about the Assembly session.

Democratic Party Leader Addresses Assembly

LD1203045191 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0100 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Excerpts] As we said earlier, the emergency session of the Serbian Assembly is still under way. Our reporters who are following the Assembly proceedings, report that after some 30 deputies—among whom were those rare ones who understood the level and seriousness of the main topic on the agenda—took part in the discussion, People's Deputy and Chairman of the Democratic Party Dragoljub Micunovic took the floor. [passage omitted]

Here is how Mr. Micunovic reacted to the proposals, and how he assessed the Assembly proceedings:

[Begin Micunovic recording] We have arrived, sirs, in an almost impossible situation. A number of deputies, who were a pleasure to listen to, used the opportunity to turn this into an interesting and entertaining evening [words indistinct]. Some 60 deputies will not be speaking tonight. [shouts: "They will, they will"] If they speak, then the session will finish at noon tomorrow, if I understand correctly. [indistinct shouts in the background]

We are facing an urgent situation. I was under the impression that the urgency with which this emergency session was convened indicates that we are in an emergency situation. At this moment thousands of people are still on the streets, and at this moment Belgrade University and other cultural institutions are not working—which some may not at the moment regard as very dramatic. But I am afraid that an escalation of discontent, which could be brought about by the failure to respond or respond on time, to the students' demands, could assume dramatic proportions in a few day's time, or even tomorrow. [indistinct shouts of disagreement]

I, sirs, am a people's deputy. When you spoke, if for whatever reasons I did not like what you said, I went out, so as not to interrupt anyone. I was waiting here all night [indistinct shouts of disapproval] to take the floor. [voice heard saying: "I plead with you to listen. We should act as legislators."]

As far as I am concerned, whoever does not want to listen to me, does not have to. But we should be aware of one thing. True, in democracy the majority makes decicions, but there can be no democracy if the majority rules. Democracy is based on principles, including the principles of equality even for a single deputy in this Assembly, not to mention a handful of them. Hence if you want this small number to remain in the Assembly, you have to accept the principle of argument-backed discussion. People spoke for half an hour, expressing their various thoughts about everything, insulting the opposition as a whole and political parties in general, and proposing unconstitutional bans on political parties. We listened to all this. When finally, an hour after midnight, after I spent the whole night trying to calm the students and thus avert an escalation of the situation, you have not patience to wait for two minutes.

Sirs, I do not want to carry out my deputies' obligations to calm the situation. This task should be left exclusively to forces of peace and order, and they should be the only ones responsible for it. But I, as a teacher and as a human being who is duty bound to this, spent the whole day negotiating, trying to resolve this situation. We have in front of us a piece of paper, and we should vote on it. I believe that the paper in front of us [reply to the student's demands] will not satisfy the students. If someone does not believe me, he should go and read it out to them, and then tell us what their reaction to the paper was. [indistinct disapproval]

That professors are guilty for all of this, I heard 23 years ago. Because professors were guilty, I was not able to engage in my profession for 15 years. Professors are not guilty, but someone else will be guilty. [indistinct shouts] So—sir, please let me finish, and do not tell me that professors are responsible if students rebell. That story will get no mileage. Mr. Batric, I listened to you for more than half an hour, and therefore I say... [Micunovic interrupted] Please, tell him to listen quietly. If obstruction is at stake, then believe me, I could speak here for two hours, and we can prolong the session until tomorrow evening. I will not allow provocations and obstructions, because this could be the last time I speak in the Assembly. [end recording]

Students Remain After Serbian Assembly Meeting

LD1203050391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0424 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Summary] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—After the opposition deputies walked out of the emergency session of the Serbian Assembly, they headed for Terazije Street and the student demonstrations. There Dragoljub Micunovic, Zoran Djindjic, and Milan Paroski, among others, addressed the students, saying that the Serbian Assembly is currently a one-party legislature, and that the Serbian Socialist Party needs democracy only as a smokescreen for its activities.

Students reacted to this with tumultous calls for workers to join them. They shouted: We are staying here, we are staying here. Afterwards singing could be heard throughout the center of Belgrade.

Pristina Opposition Supports Belgrade Students

LD1203071591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1817 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Pristina, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—The Pristina-based municipal committees of the Democratic Party [DS] and the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] support the demands of the opposition in Belgrade and of the students of Belgrade University.

In a joint statement, SD and SPO representatives protested against the use of the Army and tanks on the streets of Belgrade, and called on the SFRY Presidency and Army General Veljko Kadijevic to resign. Support was also given to a group of SPO deputies on hunger strike in the Serbian Assembly. There was also a call for the formation of a multiparty legislative commission to investigate the use of firearms and force during the demonstrations in Belgrade on Saturday, and the "introduction of the state of emergency." The opposition's demand for the resignation of [Serbian] Internal Affairs Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic was also reiterated.

The Pristina SD and SPO municipal committees also called for the release of all those arrested during recent demonstrations. It was also revealed that several SPO members from Kosovo and Metohija had been detained by the security services.

Socialist Party Sends Proclamation to Assembly

AU1203153791 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] We have just received the proclamation that the Main Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] has sent to the Serbian Assembly.

Esteemed deputies, the following stands and demands were made at the mass national meeting entitled For the Defense of the Republic, for Constitutionality, Freedom, and Democracy, which was held at Usce in Belgrade on 11 March 1991, and was organized by the SPS:

First, the citizens of Serbia and Belgrade energetically condemn the demonstrations and unrest in Belgrade on 9 March that were organized by the Serbian Renaissance Movement and some other opposition parties. Citizens are demanding that the organizers of these demonstrations be called to account for all the consequences of the demonstrations, and particularly the lost lives and huge material damage caused in Belgrade. At the same time, citizens demand that the authorities take all legal measures against the organizers of the demonstrations.

Second, the citizens resolutely support the legally elected entities of power, the National Assembly, the [Serbian] President Slobodan Milosevic, and the newly elected government. The citizens demand that the authorities ensure peace, free life, and work in Belgrade and in the entire republic.

Serbian Opposition Presents Demands to Assembly

AU1203164691 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1504 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Demands of Serbian opposition parties read by deputy Slobodan Raketic at the Serbian Assembly session in Belgrade—live]

[Text] We demand:

1. That the special legislative commission of the Serbian Assembly, which is supposed to investigate all circumstances in connection with the 9 March events 1991, include an equal number of representatives of the Serbian Renaissance Movement and the United Opposition. Because we are speaking of an extraordinary event, and because this legislative commission does not make decisions, but only presents work and findings, we think that in this case we can deviate from the rules of procedure on the work of the Assembly in the interest of impartiality and objectivity.

2. That Serbian Renaissance Movement Chairman Vuk Draskovic be released. This does not mean any interference in the independence of the judiciary, but only permits him to defend himself out of custody. We think that his continued detention has led to greater public unrest than there would have been if he had been released. In any case, there is no danger that by releasing him, he will not be inaccessible to the Serbian forces.

3. That all citizens be pardoned who have been prosecuted for misdemeanor offenses just because they took part in the demonstrations. The citizens who are being criminally prosecuted should be enabled to defend themselves out of custody.

4. That further arrests in Belgrade and Serbia be stopped immediately.

5. That Belgrade Television organizes a live evening program on the 9 March events in which all sides will take part: the security services, organizers, and the participants in the demonstrations, during which the participants in the demonstrations will have the right to show their own filmed footage. Confiscated films must be returned to the Independent Television Studio-B.

6. That objective and nonparty editing of news programs on Belgrade Radio and Television be guaranteed immediately. For this purpose we should set up a temporary editorial collegium that would, on behalf of the Serbian Assembly as the founder, ensure objective information dissemination until new Belgrade Television officials have been elected.

7. That the committees in charge of preparing the laws on the press, television, and political organizations be composed of the representatives of the Socialist Party of Serbia and the opposition parties on a parity basis.

Belgrade 12 March 1991

This demand is signed, in addition to the president of the deputy group of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, who is reading this, by Andros Agoston, president of the deputy group of the Alliance of Democratic Hungarians, Dragoljub Micunovic, president of the deputy group of the Democratic Party, and Momcilo Grubas and Petar Petrovic, deputies of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative and the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia respectively.

Several Committees Meet at Assembly Session

AU1203172391 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] There are more and more students, secondary school students, and citizens on Terazije Street. Speakers are addressing the crowd one after another and through powerful loudspeakers. The demonstrators are occasionally listening to the radio's live relay of the session of the Serbian Assembly.

The Assembly session was interrupted for consultations but it is expected to resume. The Committee for Defense and Protection is due to propose the composition of the legislative commission that will investigate the facts surrounding the 9 March demonstrations in Belgrade. At the same time, the Committee for Culture and Information will discuss the resignations that have been submitted from Belgrade Radio and Television officials.

Assembly President Slobodan Unkovic also called on the government to use the break, if necessary, to order that the demand for Vuk Draskovic's release, by a group of opposition deputies, be among the topics discussed.

Criminal Charges Filed Against Serbian Minister

LD1203173491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1547 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—Studio-B lawyers today filed criminal charges against Serbian Internal Affairs Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic based on the well-founded suspicion that by his actions he unlawfully prevented the journalists from doing their work and normal radio and TV programs from being broadcast on 9 and 10 March during the well-known events in the Belgrade streets.

In so doing, the Serbian minister committed the criminal offense of abuse of his official position, under article 174 section 1 items 2 and 3, and of negligent discharge of his official duties, under article 182 section 2 of the SFRY criminal code.

The criminal charge has been filed on the order of Dragan Kojadinovic, manager and principal and executive editor of Studio-B.

Serbian Assembly Confirms TV Resignations

LD1203174991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1731 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—The Serbian People's Assembly, by a majority of votes this evening, relieved of their duties Belgrade Radio and TV Director General Dusan Mitevic; Belgrade TV Director Sergej Sestakov; and Belgrade TV news and current affairs editor Predrag Vitas.

Ratomir Vico has been appointed acting director general of Belgrade Radio and TV. He is also expected to carry out the duties of both the director of Belgrade TV and the editor of its news and current affairs programs.

Serbian Radical Party Leader Calls For Calm

LD1203180991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1642 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Report on news conference by Serbian Radical Party Chairman Dr. Vojislav Seselj, (also former leader of the banned Serbian Cetnik Movement), in Belgrade on 12 March]

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—The interests of the Serbian people dictate that during the next two to three months, when the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis is expected and when Yugoslavia probably will no longer exist, calm should prevail in Belgrade and in Serbia. "If there is chaos in Serbia, our enemies will get all the territories on which they are casting an eye, and Serbia will again be reduced to the borders of the Belgrade pashalic [before Serbian independence in 19th century]."

Seselj believes that all student demands should be immediately met because they are fair. That he was jeered in Terazije has not affected him as much, he said, as the fact that they also jeered Patriarch Pavle and Dr. Radovan Karadzic, which shows that young people allow themselves to be manipulated.

Seselj also said that his party did not take part in the 9 March demonstrations in Belgrade because they are against the monopoly of the ruling Serbian Socialist Party in the information media, and also because the demonstrations were organized by parties such as the Alliance of Reform Forces, Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, and the Peasant Farmers' Party.

Serbia Refuses Free Broadcasting for Yutel

LD1203201191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1936 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 12 (TANJUG)—Director of the only all-Yugoslav television network Yutel Nebojsa Tomasevic today said that Serbian authorities still will not permit Yutel to broadcast freely throughout the republic's territory.

By refusing to permit Yutel to broadcast in Serbia, Serbian authorities are ignoring public demand and the support of the public and the opposition in Serbia for Yutel to broadcast its programme in the territory of the republic.

The Serbian legislature this morning adopted a decision which provides for respect of the right to a free flow of information in the republic and the right of independent networks to broadcast freely.

Serbian Assembly Resumes; Appeal To End Protest

LD1203212591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2113 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—The Serbian National Assembly session in Belgrade resumed at about 2130 tonight with an appeal by its president for the protest to be abandoned and for people to buckle down to routine business. Slobodan Unkovic stressed that during two days of democratic proceedings the assembly has fulfilled all the student demands, and expressed the hope that in the future the public will be the judge of the work of the new democratic legislature.

Dragoljub Micunovic expressed great satisfaction at the triumph of reason in the assembly. We have overcome a conflict, and today we are much closer to an ideal of democratic life than we were before 9 March, he said.

The assembly then ended its session, with an assessment that a major conflict between the ruling party and the opposition had been resolved in a democratic way. Following the session, all the deputies set off for Terazije Square to inform the students about their decisions.

Serbian Assembly Creates Six New Committees

LD1203024291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Six new committees were set up today in the People's Assembly of Serbia. These are: the committees for health; culture and information; communal services and urban planning; industry, energy, mining, and construction; agriculture, forestry, and water management; and labor, veterans' issues, and social welfare policy.

Croatian Ustasa Party Holds First Meeting

LD1103232991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2002 GMT 10 Mar 91

[Summary] Split, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—Several hundred members of a newly-formed Croatian Ustasa [Croatian fascist movement] Party held their founding assembly in Split today. They argue that the history of both the Ustasa Party and the Serbian Cetniks should be revised.

Dalmatian Action Calls For Television Rights

LD1203035191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1210 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Split, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—In the light of what happened to despotism in Serbia, Dalmatian Action [dalmatinska Akcije] expects the Croatian government to place the second channel of the single-party Croat television at the disposal of all 53 opposition parties in the republic.

The events in Serbia have shown what can happen to totalitarian authorities when they try to impose a single-ideology system, Dalmatian Action stresses in a statement, and goes on to add that Dalmatian Action believes even more strongly now in the need for full respect for citizens' fundamental freedoms and rights—and in particular for the freedom of expression, the freedom to speak in public, and the freedom for various political parties to take part in the affairs of society.

Croatians in Bosnia Raise Representation Question

LD1203160591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1118 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—The Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina condemns in the sharpest terms the use of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] in Belgrade. We indignantly reject the embroiling of the JNA in political life, particularly its engagement on the side of one political party, Stepan Kljuic, the leader of this party, said today at a scheduled news conference in Sarajevo.

After this decision of the Yugoslav Presidency to engage the Army to put down the demonstrations, Kljuic stressed, I am not sure that Bogic Bogicevic can represent all the peoples of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the Yugoslav Presidency.

Drnovsek Terms Jovic Statement 'Unacceptable'

AU1203180091 Ljubljana Radio Slovene Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Dear listeners, at this moment we received a statement for the public from the cabinet of Dr. Janez Drnovsek, member of the SFRY Presidency from Slovenia. The statement was issued in response to the statement that SFRY Presidency President Dr. Borisav Jovic announced two hours ago. We present Drnovsek's statement in full.

"The relations in Yugoslavia have been aggravating, but the quest for the political solution that would lead us out of the intense crisis is carried out under an ever increasing pressure. In resolving the internal political arguments and conflicts, force is very often used instead of dialogue, which is something that Janez Drnovsek has always strongly opposed. The units of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] intervened in Pakrac upon the arbitrary order of Borisav Jovic. In the case of the opposition parties' demonstrations in Belgrade, after the telephone session of the SFRY Presidency on Saturday, an order to deploy JNA units was adopted without the previous assessment of the seriousness of the circumstances. An expanded session of the SFRY Presidency was convened for today, although five members of the SFRY Presidency proposed that the session be postponed or held in some other city, as the circumstances do not permit for a normal work session. The president of the SFRY Presidency has not accepted this proposal but set an ultimatum—insisted upon holding a session despite a different, prevailing opinion. That is why there was no quorum at the session. Responding to this, SFRY Presidency President Jovic is calling for an urgent SFRY Presidency session, in its role of supreme command, without an agenda, with a technically-impossible deadline. Drnovsek concludes that those methods and tactics are unacceptable, and says that under such circumstances he is no longer prepared to work in the SFRY Presidency."

Kucan on Serbian Conflict, Independence

AU1203224091 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2100 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Interview with Slovene President Milan Kucan by Robert Hochner in Vienna on 12 March; Kucan statements in Slovene with superimposed German translation—recorded]

[Text] [Hochner] Mr. President, the Yugoslav Government addressed a very dramatic appeal to the population, to all Yugoslavs. It appealed for calm and order, rejecting violence and demonstrations. How do you assess this appeal?

[Kucan] I believe that it is necessary to support such an appeal because these dramatic conditions, which are very serious themselves, have been exacerbated by numerous other political factors. In this situation, such an appeal is urgently needed. Despite the dramatic situation, there are enough responsible and wise people to solve this longstanding crisis in Yugoslavia, which has already developed into agony, in a democratic way, through democratic and political dialogue.

[Hochner] Mr. President, this statement has come only two days after the heavy clashes in Belgrade during the weekend [9-10 March]. How do you assess the behavior of the Serbian leadership against the opposition in Serbia, the intervention of the Army, and the use of force, and the two people that were killed in this connection?

[Kucan] What happened is very tragic. Unfortunately, there is another bad aspect: New elements are becoming visible in the Yugoslav crisis. The Army, a federal institution, has for the first time intervened in an internal quarrel in a republic, in a quarrel between the government and the opposition. Through the Presidency, the whole of Yugoslavia—all republics—are involved now against their will on the side of the ruling party against the Serbian opposition.

I believe that this has shown the unwillingness and the inability of these forces to settle this situation through political dialogue. They are trying to solve it in the old way—through the use of force. This includes the use of the Army.

[Hochner] Mr. President, you have spoken of agony in Yugoslavia, of a paralysis. Has this paralysis not also been caused by your republic's and Croatia's refusal to participate in a useful way in the talks of the Presidency on Yugoslavia's future?

[Kucan] Above all, it is not true that our two republics do not wish to take part in the meeting, and it is not true that they do not participate in the political dialogue and the sessions of the Presidency, where this dialogue should take place. The truth is that not only Slovenia, but also the leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina and of Macedonia have called for the creation of normal conditions for such an important matter as this political dialogue. The republic where the seat of the Presidency is located must ensure these conditions. This republic must guarantee that the Presidency can work in a normal way there.

[Hochner] Mr. President, your government and your legislature have practically decided to become independent, to secede from the Yugoslav state. After the events that took place at the weekend, are you afraid that the Yugoslav Army might prevent this?

[Kucan] I believe that even intervention by the Armed Forces would only have short-term effect, because the Army is certainly not immune to the processes that are taking place in Yugoslavia. The Army consists of many ethnic groups, and it is difficult to believe that all Slovenes in the Army would be willing to attack their own people with firearms, particularly in connection with issues that have been regulated in a democratic way, issues that were decided by the referendum. A total of 85 percent of all Slovenes decided in the referendum that they want to live in a free and sovereign country of Slovenia and no longer be integrated in the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

[Hochner] Mr. President, you have come to Austria to meet with Austrian leaders, including Chancellor Vranitzky, Vice Chancellor Riegler, and Foreign Minister Mock. What do you want from Austria? One can imagine that you want Austria to abandon its policy of addressing Yugoslavia as one state and to talk with Slovenia as a future independent neighbor. Is this your aim?

[Kucan] It is certainly no secret—your spectators also know this—that there is more than one truth in Yugoslavia. There is a federal truth that has recently been announced by Prime Minister Ante Markovic. There is a Serbian truth. We can watch this on television. There is also a Slovene truth. I would like to explain the Slovene truth. I believe that everything that is currently happening in Yugoslavia should convince both Austria and other European EC countries that they should reconsider their ideas of Yugoslavia and of Yugoslavia's future. They should realize that the old system that has existed for a long time no longer ensures that a long period of latent crises will not break out. Democratic countries will emerge that will forge links with each other and that will form—how shall I put it—a southeastern community of states, or a Yugoslav community of sovereign states. This community would be built on standards and norms that would be compatible with the big EC.

[Hochner] Mr. president, I thank for the interview and wish you all the best.

Tupurkovski Addresses Skopje Veterans' Body

LD1103215691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1903 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Skopje, March 11 (TANJUG)—Member of the Yugoslav State Presidency Vasil Tupurkovski today pointed out that the 'tragic events in Belgrade are not the end of the confrontations in Yugoslavia.' Two people were killed and more than one hundred were injured when demonstrations of the opposition and students broke out in Belgrade on Saturday.

Speaking before members of the Veterans' Association of Skopje, the capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Tupurkovski stressed that 'those in authority must do everything for the crisis in Yugoslavia to be dealt with by peaceful means, through talks', because it is a 'matter of days when inter-ethnic relations will escalate to assume disastrous proportions, spurred on by a tremendous economic crisis and social tensions'. "We shall either ensure a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis, or we shall rush headlong into a civil war', Tupurkovski warned.

Referring to the interventions of the Yugoslav People's Army in Belgrade on Saturday and in the Croatian town of Pakrac recently, Tupurkovski stressed that 'the Army has no place at the conference table in talks on Yugoslavia.' 'Political decisions must be taken through the constituted political system,' Tupurkovski stressed.

Albania's Ethnic Macedonians Cross Border

LD1203125291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Ohrid, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—Over the past two days there have been many flights of Albanian citizens over the Yugoslav-Albanian border near Resen. Some 24 people fled yesterday and 17 more this morning. Due to the fact that they are all ethnic Macedonians from the region of Mala Prespa, a region with nine purely Macedonian villages with around 5,000 inhabitants, it is believed that their exodus was initiated and aided by the Albanian Government.

Some of the refugees, who are detained in the regional prison in Ohrid, stated this morning to a TANJUG correspondent in Ohrid that they came at their own initiative and that they were not persuaded by anybody. Asked why there are no Albanians among them, they answered that "Albanians live better there than ethnic Macedonians." They confirmed that ethnic Macedonians are also fleeing to Greece to the border areas populated by the ethnic Macedonian minority. According to these refugees, the Greek Government is sending back all Albanian citizens of Macedonian nationality.

Pristina Daily Reports on Kosovo Situation

AU1103211191 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 6 Mar 91 p 4

[Emin Azemi and Blerim Reka report: "The United States Will No Longer Tolerate Repression in Kosovo"]

[Text] Pristina, 5 Mar—The announced reopening of the Medical Faculty's lecture halls did not take place. This faculty's enforced management, despite the insistence of the students, did not open the classroom doors. Only the ophthalmology classroom was opened, in which one lecture in each subject was held.

The international support given to Kosovo and the Albanians is assuming a markedly institutional character. Robert Dole, the U.S. senator from Kansas and one of the leaders of the Republicans, well known for his stand on Kosovo, appealed in his speech to the U.S. Senate for the U.S. administration to join the Senate and the Congress in openly condemning the violations of rights in Kosovo. Dole's testimony calls for Kosovo's independence to be restored, and makes it clear that the

U.S. Congress will no longer tolerate the continued repression of the Albanians in Kosovo.

The Militia Maltreat the Kosovo Democratic Alliance Chairman!

A communique released yesterday by the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [LDK] expresses the protest of the party's Presidium against the maltreatment of the LDK delegation on their return from Skopje Airport. The communique states among other things that at about 2000 on 2 March, after the return of the LDK's delegation from Albania and Germany, a patrol of the Serbian police stopped the delegation on the Skopje-Pristina road at the small town of Han i Elezit [Djeneral Jankovic]. After a detailed search of their car and inspection of their documents, the delegation continued their journey. It was stopped again by another militia patrol after 20 kilometers. This time, two militia cars stopped the delegation between Kacanik and Urosevac, by the turn for Brezovica. According to the LDK's communique, armed militia got out of their car and instructed the members of the delegation not to move, threatening, "Anyone who moves is dead." After a detailed search and further threats with weapons, the delegation continued its journey, only to be stopped again near Urosevac, at the gasoline station. The same procedure was repeated a third time, and the militia offered as a pretext for this "routine inspection" the excuse that the delegation had not stopped at the first patrol. Ibrahim Rugova categorically denied this. The communique concludes by stating that the police had planned a scenario for the liquidation of Ibrahim Rugova and the other members of the delegation, but this was prevented by the delegation's patience and cool heads.

The recent dismissal from work of Dr. Hakif Bajrami, an academic worker at the Historical Archive, shows that Serbian violence does not even spare distinguished academics. It is unofficially understood that the instruction for his dismissal was issued by a Serbian director, who has returned to Pristina after migrating to Nis.

The Campaign To Prevent Albanian Emigration Spreads

The campaign to prevent Albanian emigration has spread to other areas of Drenica, Kishna Reke, Llapushnik, and to Logje and Raushishte near Pec. As has been said at these gatherings, 100,000 young Albanians have gone abroad this year alone. A central Hasan Pristina Council for the Prevention of Albanian Emigration has been formed, whose members include Dr. Hakif Bajrami, Dr. Shkelzen Raca, Milaim Kadri, Ismail Dautaj, etc. The Council's intention is to extend its activity not only throughout Kosovo but to other areas where Albanians live, such as Macedonia, Montenegro, southern Serbia, etc.

The Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms has recently changed its members, with the election of Adem Demaci as its chairman. The Council yesterday issued an appeal to the democratic public in Yugoslavia and the world and to the highest bodies in the Federation demanding the release of all political prisoners who were sentenced as young people while serving in the Yugoslav People's Army. As the appeal states, in the 1981-1989 period alone, more than 2,500 Albanian soldiers were sentenced to between five and 25 years' imprisonment at Stalinist show trials conducted by military courts. Together with the appeal, the Council submitted a list of 84 Albanian political prisoners still serving sentences in the prisons of Nis, Pozarevac, Idrizova, Prokuplje, Subotica, Novi Sad, Istok, Zrenjanin, Mitrovica, Gnjilane, Pec, and Prizren. It is also important to emphasize that this appeal mentions that none of these prisoners used violence, and that all were sentenced as prisoners of conscience, because of their beliefs and convictions.

The Party of Democratic Action [SDA] in Kosovo held a news conference today on the premises of the Kosovo Writers Association, and spoke about the increasing number of cases of maltreatment, beating, and dismissal from work of Muslims, the confiscation of their weapons, and even the unexplained cases of the deaths of four Muslims. As was said by Dr. Numan Balic, chairman of this party, tendentious and biased reporting in the national press has led to ignorance of the conditions in which the Muslims of Kosovo live. In fact, they have been turned into second-class citizens. Even though they are the third-largest people in Kosovo, totaling about 100,000, they are called nationalists and separatists, like another entire people and are ignored. Likewise, the Muslim people are ignored by the official Serbian press and are not mentioned. In addition, Balic said, our party is hindered in its political activities. The state does not allow us premises. Like the largest party in Kosovo, the LDK, which has been forced to work practically underground, the SDA with its 15,000 members is hindered in its political activities in Kosovo by the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia. He then informed journalists about the very difficult social and economic circumstances of the Kosovo Muslims, especially now that hundreds have been dismissed from work solely because they are SDA members. Balic mentioned another incident connected with Orthodox Christmas, when the state provoked the Muslims of Dragas by wishing a merry Orthodox Christmas even to the Goranis! This was a serious insult to Muslims, just as the emphasis on Orthodoxy and Holy Slavdom in television broadcasts is an insult. It seems to be forgotten that there is more than one nationality and religion in Serbia. [The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

The Police Kill Shaqir Thaci

The Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms has reported that the 25-year old Shaqir Thaci from Skivjan, the father of one child, was killed between 2115 and 2130 on 4 March at the entrance to Djakovica, on the stretch of road between the gate to the Emin Duraku Textile Combine and the Metaliku Factory. A militiaman was also wounded in this incident.

On the evening in question, he and two friends were traveling by car in the direction of Djakovica, and were stopped by the police. The three tied to run away in different direction. The militiamen tried to run down two of them in their vehicle, firing all the time with automatic weapons. Shaqir fell dead in the hail of bullets, while his two friends escaped.

While the policemen immediately sent their colleague to hospital for treatment, they left Shaqir on the blacktop. The policemen tried to camouflage the bloodstains with soil. Shaqir's family was not informed until 1200 today. The Skivjan villagers gathered in the village square to protest the criminal behavior of the Serbian police.

It has been learned that the police have arrested Muje Krasniqi, a watchman at one of the buildings of the Emin Duraku Combine, who was present at the scene and witnessed the incident. The Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms believes that the Serbian police will surely murder him and declare him to have been a terrorist. (!)

Kosovo Democratic Alliance Views Demonstrations

LD1203061691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1750 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Pristina, March 11 (TANJUG)—"The current political and social conflicts in Serbia, although surprisingly intensive, were expected," the leadership of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, the largest organization of ethnic Albanians in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo assessed on Monday.

The leaders of the party believe that the causes of the fierce opposition and student demonstrations, continuing in Belgrade since Saturday, lie in "failures of the policy of Serbia" which has "led Yugoslavia to the brink of disintegration," as reflected in "Serbia's declining reputation and setbacks in economic development."

Last August, Serbia imposed special measures in Kosovo and suspended the provincial legislature and government following the proclamation by ethnic Albanians of the so-called constitution of the Republic of Kosovo.

Army Not Instructed To 'Take Political Sides'

LD1103215191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2059 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Bogic Bogicevic, member of the SFRY Presidency from Bosnia-Hercegovina, said this evening that as a member of the SFRY Presidency he endorsed intervention by the Army in Belgrade. He stressed, however, that he consented with a view to using the Army to protect citizens' lives, and not to use force.

Asked if he was aware that in Belgrade the Army had been involved in its first political intervention, Bogicevic said the Army was not instructed to take political sides but exclusively to protect the citizens. After two lives had been lost, we could not allow any further bloodshed, Bogicevic said.

Radio Extends Hours for Broadcasts to Belgrade

LD1103222891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Radio Yugoslavia, a station specializing in providing information to the world on events in our country and our international activity, besides broadcasting in 10 foreign languages, today started all-day broadcasting in Serbo-Croat for listeners in Belgrade and its environs. The station broadcasts on the ultra shortwave frequency modulation of 100.4 megehertz.

During the evening, Radio Yugoslavia will continue to be heard in Belgrade in English, Russian, Arabic, German, French, Spanish, Italian, and Greek.